

VOTES FOR WOMEN

VOL. V. (New Series), No. 231.

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WILL MR. BONAR LAW BE SENT TO PRISON?

In the Exercise Yard at Wandsworth Gaol



Mr. CHARLES GRAY.—Sentenced on July 15, 1912, to two months' Hard Labour, for "assaulting" Mr. Lloyd George.

Mr. BONAR LAW, M.P.—Sentenced on ? —, to ? —, for inciting to violence in Ulster.

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To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

A Cabinet Minister in the person of Mr. Herbert Samuel, comparing Mr. Bonar Law to Mrs. Pankhurst, declares that of these two rebels, Mrs. Pankhurst is the more moderate. The question that now calls for answer is whether the Government intend to treat them alike. Having already sent Mrs. Pankhurst to prison, do the Government now propose to send Mr. Bonar Law to prison? The offence of inciting to window-breaking, for which the W.S.P.U.

leaders were imprisoned, is far less serious than the offence of inciting to head-breaking and to bloodshed. The Prime Minister committed himself to ordering the arrest of Mr. Bonar Law when he said, "I cannot acquit of responsibility for the state of feeling of which the disgraceful proceedings in Belfast are the outcome, and by which they have been fomented, these open incitements to violence by a responsible statesman." The *Daily News* says of Mr. Bonar Law and other Unionist leaders:—

They have appealed to Ulster to resist Home Rule by violence. They have promised and still promise to support the lawbreakers. They will be morally responsible for every act of violence which follows their teaching. We hope that they will be made legally responsible also. The law was able to put Mr. Tom Mann in prison for advising soldiers not to shoot the men of their own class. Surely it is equal to putting into prison men who provoke others to violence in order to make law impossible.

The *Freeman's Journal* claims that the dupes of the Unionist leaders shall not suffer while they go free.

"Constitutionals" Surprising Manifesto

We notice with astonishment that the "Constitutionals" have issued a statement in which they say that they are not responsible for, nor do they approve, any Suffrage placard or speech adjuring the electors of North-West Manchester to "keep the Liberal out." How are we to reconcile this manifesto with the rejoicing expressed by the "Constitutionals" at the defeat of the Liberal candidate at the Crewe election? Commenting upon the result of that election they said:—

The seat, long regarded as a Radical stronghold, has been lost to the Government, and we have the satisfaction of knowing that our intervention played no small portion in securing that result. One of the objects of our new

policy has therefore been achieved with conspicuous success.

They then proceeded to explain that their new election policy was adopted not only that Labour Members might be elected, but also in order

To make the Government realise that they stand in danger of losing seats at the next election if no measure of women's suffrage is passed this session.

As it is their object to make the Government realise the danger of losing seats, why do not the "Constitutionals" oppose the Liberal candidate in North-West Manchester? If the Suffrage cause has been advanced by the defeat of the Liberal at Crewe, it would obviously be equally advanced by the defeat of the Liberal candidate at North-West Manchester. Do the "Constitutionals" absolutely refuse to oppose the Government unless they can do so by the method of supporting a Labour candidate?

Mr. Macdonald's Criminality

Certainly the Labour Party in Parliament has not yet earned the partiality displayed towards it by the "Constitutionals." As they say themselves, Mr. J. R. MacDonald's recent letter to the Press was anything but satisfactory, and they express the hope that "the time will soon come when the Labour Party will officially declare its intentions." Mr. J. R. MacDonald refers in the *Labour Leader* of August 1 to the work done in the Crewe election by the "Constitutionals," but we notice that he very carefully refrains from "declaring his intentions." After thanking the Constitutionals for their help, he says that

The Labour Party has a wider appeal to make, and only in so far as it cultivates the movement represented by the Women's Labour League can it hope to get the confidence and support of working women.



What Mr. MacDonald means by this his Suffragist friends may understand better than we do, but the words quoted do not seem to contain much promise of active fighting for Votes for Women. Mr. MacDonald cannot, of course, resist a reference to the "criminality" of the militants. Our reply to Mr. MacDonald is this: "It is you who are the criminal, because by refusing either to mend or to end this Anti-Suffragist Liberal Government you are driving women to violent agitation. Because you will not help them by constitutional means they are obliged to help themselves by means which are unconstitutional."

Mistaken Tactics

Mr. MacDonald's chairmanship of the Parliamentary Labour Party is drawing to a close, and it seems to be assumed that another will be elected in his stead. We make no secret of our opinion that his leadership has been to the advantage neither of the Labour Party nor of the cause of women's enfranchisement. When the Labour Party achieved its remarkable success at the polls it entered Parliament as a great moral force—feared and yet respected. The Labour Members were regarded by the rest of the House as men hating compromise, holding fast to certain ideals, and intolerant of any obstacles to their realisation. They do not hold that position to-day. P. W. W., of the *Daily News*, makes an illuminating statement upon the tactics which have produced this result:—

If Mr. MacDonald's success has been imperfect, the fault may be less in him than in the system which he helped to create, but which, in certain respects, hampered his leadership. He had to maintain in form an independence of the Government. But actually he and his men were part of the coalition, and there was some truth in the Tory taunt that they could only vote against the Government when the Government was safe from defeat. That the Labour Party, while professing independence, are not really independent is precisely what we have pointed out ourselves.

Sham Fighting

Many Liberals, of whom Mr. Massingham is a spokesman, are indignant because of the Government's foreign policy and naval estimates. Mr. Massingham says:—

The Prime Minister must be taught that the torch of Liberalism was put into his hand not in order that he might extinguish it, but that he might hand it on undimmed and undiminished. The banner of revolt must be raised—thousands will gather round it.

Commenting upon this declaration of war, Mr. Philip Snowden says in the *Christian Commonwealth*:

Mr. Massingham is advocating the formation of an independent Radical Party. It is difficult to see where he is going to find the recruits for such a party. A few Radicals will vote against the Government when they are quite sure that the Government are having the assistance of the Tory Party, but there is little prospect of an independent Radical Party which will have the courage to use its votes to turn out a Government which, both in its foreign policy and in its expenditure upon armaments, is outraging every principle for which traditional Liberalism stands.

We ask Mr. Snowden whether his criticism does not apply also to the Labour Party. We ask him whether the Labour M.P.'s have the courage to turn the Government out of office! We notice that the majority of twenty-six secured last Friday would have been turned into a minority of six if the Labour M.P.'s who voted for the Government had voted against them. On the Appropriation Bill, if the Labour members taking part in the division had voted against instead of for the Government, the Government would have been defeated by no less than thirty-two votes and would have been compelled to resign!

The Use of the Word "Male"

A critic of the present attitude of the W.S.P.U. writes:—

There is a clear and indeed overwhelming majority for woman suffrage in the House of Commons. Every suffragist can vote for the resolution to take the word "male" out of the Bill. I cannot believe that that will not be done. That will leave the Bill open to put some, or all, women in. If the House, having thus affirmed the principle of the suffrage, should reject all of the three suffrage amendments that will be moved, it will make itself ridiculous. It will have committed itself to a principle, and then refused to do anything to put that principle in operation! I cannot think it likely that the House will do that either.

Our correspondent, like so many other peacefully disposed Suffragists, cheerfully condones the gross breach of faith committed by the Government when they introduced the word "male" into the Bill. The presence of that word means that two amendments have to be carried instead of the one amendment involved in the Government's pledge. If the Government could in violation of their pledge erect a double barrier against women, and if Suffragist Ministers could acquiesce in this dishonest proceeding, then there is no other trickery to which they will not descend. Even the deletion of the word "male" must not too cheerfully be taken for granted. Hostile Nationalists and Liberals who become defaulters at Government instigation may between them defeat the proposal to delete it. But as the sex disability will not be removed thereby, the proposal may be carried by the irresponsible House of Commons.

More or Less Irresponsible Atoms

Our correspondent argues that by refusing to follow this up by carrying an amendment to enfranchise women the House of Commons would make itself

ridiculous. Much the House of Commons cares for that! It is accustomed to looking ridiculous in the eyes of the world, if not in its own eyes. The manner in which the House of Commons has dealt with Woman Suffrage during the past forty years is ridiculous, and it is more than that. It is cowardly and unprincipled and dishonest. The House has passed the second reading of Woman Suffrage Bills over and over again, and has made no effort to carry them any further. According to one who is a Member of the House of Commons, Mr. Crawshaw Williams, the House would, if the Conciliation Bill had passed its second reading, have wrecked it in Committee. The fact is that the House of Commons is not a responsible entity with a conscience and a sense either of the ridiculous or of right and wrong. It is a more or less fortuitous concourse of more or less irresponsible atoms. If it does wrong there is not adequate means of fixing responsibility and inflicting punishment. The Government, on the other hand, is a responsible entity. Its members are welded into one, the act of each Minister being the act of all. It can be held accountable for its sins of omission and of commission. That is why the W.S.P.U. insists that the Government shall accept the responsibility for giving or withholding Woman Suffrage instead of seeking to shift that responsibility on to the House of Commons.

Forcible Feeding Discussed in Parliament

Mr. Lansbury made, in the House of Commons last Monday, a very powerful speech on the question of forcible feeding. Drawing attention to the fact that in spite of official denials forcible feeding of suffragist prisoners has taken place since the last Parliamentary debate on the matter, Mr. Lansbury called for the appointment of a Committee to consider the treatment of political offenders. At question time Mr. McKenna had admitted that the release of a prisoner had been necessary because of the nervous excitement produced by forcible feeding. This, said Mr. Lansbury, was fresh evidence of the danger of the process, and bore out the statement made by many eminent medical practitioners that forcible feeding under these conditions is dangerous to health if not to life itself. As over 60 per cent. of the prisoners so treated have been released before the expiration of their sentences, it was, said Mr. Lansbury, idle for the Home Secretary to argue that forcible feeding is an alternative to "allowing prisoners to decide the length of their sentences." Mr. McKenna, in the course of his reply, announced that the Government are disposed to reduce the privileges now accorded to all offenders, whether political or not, committed to the first division. This is a most retrograde proposition, but there is danger that the House of Commons will be backboneless and submissive enough to accept it. As to forcible feeding, Mr. McKenna refused to abandon the practice, and stated that

the moment we are advised that there would be any serious danger or permanent danger to health, and anything more than temporary inconvenience, the practice of forcible feeding is discontinued.

We deny that this has been the policy of the Home Office.

The Imperial Aspect of Woman Suffrage

Mr. Borden, the Prime Minister of Canada, who is now in England, has taken one or two opportunities of announcing that if Canada shares the burden of Empire, and particularly of Imperial defence, she will expect a share in the control of the Empire's affairs, and will not be content to leave them entirely in the hands of the Parliament at St. Stephen's. This at once raises the question of Woman Suffrage in its Imperial aspect. If the self-governing Dominions are to have a voice in governing the Empire, then the women of those Dominions must necessarily be enfranchised. For Woman Suffrage has been established already in Australia and New Zealand, so that, unless it were established also in the rest of the Empire, including Canada, and we may add the Mother Country, some of those on the Imperial Council would be representative of men only, and the others would be representative of women as well as men. We hope that the women of Canada will make it clear to Mr. Borden that they insist upon having equal rights with men in the management of affairs, both Imperial and domestic. There is much to be gained by making the Votes for Women agitation Imperial in its scope, for success in one part of the Empire will contribute to success in every other part.

Mrs. Humphry Ward's New Enterprise

We are glad to see that Mrs. Humphry Ward has now turned her attention to constructive work in the interests of women, and that she is striving to secure the election of women to Local Government bodies. We are afraid that she will meet with considerable opposition from Anti-Suffragist men. She will discover a great reluctance on the part of the men's political parties to promote the candidature of women, and she will discover also that it is extremely difficult for anyone, whether a woman or a man, to secure election without the support of one of these political parties. Indeed, if there is one thing more likely than another to make a Suffragist of Mrs. Humphry Ward, it is the experience that she will gain in the course of her new endeavour. However, we hope that she may succeed in securing the presence

upon County or Town Councils and upon Boards of Guardians of a great number of able and public-spirited women, whose services in Local Government will have the inevitable result of proving the fitness of women to exercise the Parliamentary vote.

As we go to press the news reaches us that the following sentences have been passed upon the Suffragists arrested in Dublin for protests made during the visit of the Prime Minister: **Miss Gladys Evans and Mrs. Mary Leigh, 5 years' penal servitude; Mrs. Baines, 7 months' hard labour.** We reserve full comment on these monstrous sentences until next week, but we cannot refrain from calling our readers' attention to the sentence of six months passed by the City and County Commission, Dublin, on August 1, on Nicholas Fitzsimons and Peter Brophy in connection with the recent outrage on the Peamount Sanatorium, Dublin. The prisoners were guilty of the complete destruction of a pavilion 74 yards long, which formed part of the Sanatorium. One witness stated that he saw Fitzsimons with a crowd of between forty and fifty men engaged in wrecking the structure with pickaxes and sledge-hammers. The damage done was estimated at £500. The motive for this offence was simply an objection to the Sanatorium being erected on that particular place. Contrast such a paltry motive with the great passion for human liberty that lay behind the protests of the women sentenced on Wednesday! We can only leave it to our readers to judge whether such savage and vindictive action on the part of the Government can be viewed in any other light than as a deliberate provocation to all women who are inspired by the same invincible spirit.

NURSE PITFIELD

A brave soldier has passed away in Nurse Ellen Pitfield, who died in a nursing home last Tuesday morning, after a painful illness of many weeks.

Nurse Pitfield was known personally to a large number of members of the Women's Social and Political Union, and by name to a very much wider circle. Belonging to a profession from which many recruits for the fighting Suffragist army have been drawn, she was quick to see the connection between the militant movement and those evils the results of which she encountered daily in her work as a nurse. Altogether, she has been arrested five times for making militant protests, a sacrifice of time and material advantage that alone should command the admiration and the gratitude of her generation. On the second occasion, October 8, 1909, she was sentenced to fourteen days' at Newcastle for breaking the windows at the Liberal Club there; and in company with her fellow Suffragist prisoners started the Hunger Strike as a protest against being treated as an ordinary criminal. When told by the doctor that the others had given in, she answered, "Whether they have or not, I shall persist." The doctor then told her there was danger of pneumonia if she were forcibly fed; she bravely took the risk and was forcibly fed until the end of her sentence.

She was among those who on Black Friday (November 21, 1910) were battered about for hours in Parliament Square by the police and their allies, and when brought up in the police court on the following morning were discharged without being given a chance of making public what had been done to them. Arrested for the fourth time, almost immediately after, for breaking windows at the War Office as a protest against this injustice, she was sentenced to two months without the option of a fine. On her release, at the reception given to her and others, she made a speech that will not easily be forgotten by those who heard it. "There are only two things that matter to me in this world: principle and liberty," she said. "Liberty, I will protect thee, and Principle, as long as there is blood in my veins, I will fight for thee! I am no longer an individual; I am an instrument out for a good end, and until that end be attained I am out for it, not as an individual, but as an instrument."

She has kept her promise. She went to prison for the last time in March of this year, when she was sentenced to six months in the second division, on a charge of attempting to set fire to the General Post Office. She did not serve her sentence. An incurable complaint, aggravated if not caused by all she had gone through—prison privations, forcible feeding, police brutality in Parliament Square—grew rapidly worse, and her sufferings became so acute that she was released by order of the Home Secretary in April. Since then she has had every care and attention, and everything possible has been done to allay her suffering until the end came, last Tuesday. The funeral will take place to-morrow (Saturday) at Kensal Green Cemetery at 2.45. Flowers should reach 12, Church Street, Kensington, before mid-day on Saturday.

"There are only two things that matter to me in this world: principle and liberty." Who can doubt that in dying for the one she has gained the other? May the same be true of every soldier in the militant army when the end comes!

THE HOME COMING

By Beatrice Harraden

It was about tea time on a winter afternoon. Professor North paced up and down his study in restless fashion, a most unusual proceeding for a man who was accustomed to sit glued to his chair, oblivious of the world and immersed in abstruse philosophical reflections which would eventually be embodied in his third volume on Mental Evolution.

He was indeed entirely disturbed, mentally and emotionally. He had been wrestling with himself these many weeks, making up his mind at one moment to forgive his wife and let the past be the past, and at another moment coming to the conclusion that he never could forgive her for having dragged his name in the dirt, stained the spotless record of his family history and caused him to be a subject for laughter and derision amongst his comrades.

And now she was coming home this very afternoon, and he had to face the fact that their lives would be spent together as usual, but that at the back of his brain would always be the remembrance of the dishonour which she had brought on him.

Yet he loved her in his own grave way, and would fain have forgiven her wholeheartedly and unreservedly. Very good had she been to him: very patient. What an admirable German scholar she was! How cleverly and gaily she dashed through the ponderous pages of interminable sentences, summing up their gist for him in a clear exposition which saved him all unnecessary expenditure of time and trouble. He saw her now, with his mind's eye, looking up with her bright smile from her desk in the dark corner of the room, and he heard her saying: "There now, Albert, I've boiled down this treatise for you, and now I'm going out to recover from the process."

An affectionate bending over his shoulder, a light kiss on the top of his head, a quick stepping over the carpet, a considerably gentle opening and shutting of the door—and she was gone!

He glanced with sudden longing at the door. Many a time when she had disappeared, he had paused for a moment in his work, hoping that she would return at once and settle down again in her dark corner.

Her dark corner, as she called it. Well, it was dark—too dark. What was it she had said once about any dark old corner being good enough for a woman? He remembered he had thought it an unnecessary and an absurd remark. Yet the fact remained that the only free space he had been able to find for her was just that dim spot where he himself could not have worked in any comfort. Yes, he had to own that. Why did he not move all the Encyclopædias away and make room for her desk there?

Well, it was not too late. He could do it now. And when she returned—in a few minutes perhaps—she would know for herself that although he had not gone to see her, had not written to her, had not been able to overcome his pride sufficiently to send her a definite message of forgiveness by his sister, yet he had obviously been thinking of her, planning for her, and arranging that sort of welcome for her which she, with her quick perception, would recognise as symbolic of some change in his mental attitude towards her.

So he set to work and began to lift the heavy volumes from the shelves. He would do the task himself. No one should help him. Yes, he would forgive her. When she came, he would go to meet her in the hall and he would say: "Aline, I have forgiven you!" And she would never know what an effort it had cost him to repudiate the claims made by his prejudices, his predilections, his traditions, his personal dignity, his outraged pride.

Three volumes gone. Four volumes gone. Heavy too, weren't they? How often she had handled them on his behalf. He heard her saying: "Sit still, Albert. I'll bring you the barbarous bulk." He laughed at the recollection of the words. Well, she was right. They were exactly as she had described them.

Six volumes gone. How he had missed her these four long months. He had scarcely realised until now, how bereft he had been without her.

Seven, eight volumes gone. Curious that only at the eleventh hour he should begin to see a faintest glimmer of her mind and meaning. Was it because his anger and indignation were dying down at the joy of her approach, leaving his heart free to love and his brain clear to make the attempt to understand?

All the Encyclopædias gone, and now for the next shelf.

Why had he persisted in hardening his heart and closing his brain all those months previous to the night when she left her home, and in company with scores of other women, went forth to do deeds of violence which had brought on her the penalty of four months' imprisonment?

He was obliged to own that she had tried her hardest to tell him that the Woman Movement was a real living thing which neither statesmen, nor scholars, nor philosophers, nor men of affairs could

with any logic continue to ignore. He admitted that he had invariably rebuffed her. So she had gone her own way in silence created by his own stubbornness, and he had had no idea of what was seething in her mind. Thus he had been utterly unprepared for the disgrace which she had thrust upon him. But he saw for the first time that he, too, was to blame, inasmuch as he had not given her the benefit of his guidance and help. All the more reason, therefore, that he should forgive her without reserve.

Another shelf emptied. Aline would be amused at his activity. He was amused at it himself. The books were dusty, weren't they? That was because she had not been there to look after them. She tended them as though they were frail, delicate flowers. He heard her now singing as she dusted them with that soft silk handkerchief of purple, white and green. How gay she was—how kind! What had he been thinking of not to have gone to see her once during her long term of—of—retirement? And why had his pride not allowed him to fetch her home himself? Why could he not at least have done that much instead of sending his sister Isabel as his deputy? The fact was . . .

There was the sudden sound of a taxicab dashing up to the house. The book which the Professor was holding slipped from his hand. A curious transformation came over him. His features which a moment ago had softened into a tender smile, settled instantly into a forbidding rigidity. Against his will, almost against his consciousness, he was caught once more in that network of prejudices and traditional codes of thought and conduct from which men have always so much greater difficulty than women in escaping into freedom. He tried with an honest and a sincere effort, even as many other men, noble and fine in meaning and intention have tried. He failed, as they have failed. But let no one believe that either in his case, or theirs, an attempt was not made to burst those iron bonds once and for all time.

He leaned against his desk, immovable. The same influences which had kept him from going to fetch her home, restrained him now from leaving his library and hastening to meet her in the hall. He waited, his arms folded tightly together, and his eyes directed fixedly towards the door. It opened. To his entire surprise his sister Isabel came into the room alone. She seemed nervous, and her face was flushed.

"Where is Aline?" he asked abruptly.

"Albert," she said in a voice that trembled a little, "Aline has not come."

"What do you mean?" he asked harshly. "Wasn't it true then that her time was up? Didn't they let her out?"

"Yes, yes," Isabel answered, gaining courage. "They let her out. Her time was up. I've been with her. And oh, Albert, there's a light in her eyes and a look on her face which has taught me more than years of argument or whole volumes of explanation. I wish you could see her. But she said she could not come home until . . ."

"Until I'd forgiven her, I suppose," he broke in. Isabel shook her head.

"No, that was not Aline's message," she said quietly but definitely. "Her message was that she could not come home until she had forgiven you."

The Professor stared at her in blank astonishment; but she slipped from the room as though the time for discussion were past.

"Until she'd forgiven me," he repeated as in a dream.

THE MISSING LEADER AGAIN!

The journalists have given Miss Christabel Pankhurst a rest for some weeks. After depositing her, early in June, in America, South Germany, and Biarritz, they seem to have exhausted their ingenuity, and the missing leader of the W.S.P.U. has presumably been carrying on a triple existence ever since. Now, however, a "correspondent" informs the *Manchester Guardian* that he has seen Miss Pankhurst at a French watering-place, and other papers have eagerly published the same report. Was she wearing a green scarf, we wonder? That is quite enough, as a rule, for her identification, whether it is sighted simultaneously on opposite sides of the globe or appears momentarily in a taxicab at the door of Clement's Inn. Another "correspondent" of the *Eastern Morning News* this time, appears to have caught the flutter of that green scarf at Reigate, and yet a third informs the readers of the *Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury* that the reason for Miss Pankhurst's long silence is that "she has broken down"—he does not say where. We do not wish for a moment to damp the amateur detective ardour of all these "correspondents." It is more than kind of them to make fresh efforts to blindfold Scotland Yard with a green scarf and to put the enemy once more off the scent, though we really do not think from past observation that any serious effort is needed in order to attain this end.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £250,000 FUND

July 29 to August 3.

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A Friend	Mrs. Gilling	0 1 3
Miss Cutten	Mrs. Dexter	0 2 6
Miss Shellshear	Miss Kemp	0 2 6
Miss Shellshear	Miss Byford	0 2 0
Miss Sellick	Miss S. E. King	0 0 6
Mrs. Barnes	Miss Elvey	0 0 6
Miss A. Roberts	Miss O. Bartle	0 2 0
	Miss L. Hunt	0 1 0
Per Miss L. Ainsworth—	Mrs. Bailey	0 0 6
Anon.	Mrs. Keeble	0 2 0
Mrs. Taylor	Miss M. Fison	4 1 7
Per Miss G. Allen—	Miss Jenkin	0 2 6
Miss Cobb	Miss Adams	0 1 0
Mrs. Browning	A Friend	0 2 4
Mrs. Aldred	Mrs. Douglas-Reid	5 0 0
Mrs. Cobb	Mrs. Harwood	0 5 3
Miss Parsons and Miss Davis	Mrs. Schimid	0 5 0
Miss Lovibond	Miss B. Ridley	0 10 0
	Miss M. Steward	0 5 6
Per Miss M. Allen—	Miss Grace Roe	0 10 6
Miss Bourne	Miss Lillie Roe	0 2 0
Mrs. Holden	Miss C. E. Steward	2 8 0
Teas	Miss Ada Ridley	0 2 6
Miss Barnage	Miss Waters	0 2 6
Anon.	Miss James Steward	0 2 0
Miss Kirk Bullock	Mrs. F. C. Peacock	0 2 0
Mrs. Darent Harrison	Mrs. Milson	0 2 0
Mrs. Sieraking	Mrs. Norman	0 1 3
Mrs. Whitelaw	Miss Mills	0 0 6
Miss Parsons	Miss Minett	0 0 6
Miss Stewart	Miss Ethel Lwy	0 5 0
	Newham College W.S.P.U. Members	1 10 0
Per Miss Billing—	Profit on Shop	1 16 0
Anon.		
Per Miss L. Burns—	Per Miss M. West—	
Miss on "V.F.W."	Miss E. Aithen	0 10 0
Miss Jean M. Campbell	Miss A. Howlett	0 2 6
Miss A. C. Scott, M.A.	Miss F. M. Dendy	0 12 0
Miss Muriel Scott, M.A.	Miss Collins	0 2 6
Per Misses Crocker and Roberts—	Miss A. B. Howlett	0 5 0
Mrs. Clayton	Miss Clarke	0 4 0
Miss Greenall	Mrs. Hensley	0 2 6
Miss Nelly Crocker	Mrs. R. Jewson	0 2 6
Miss Osborne	Miss M. Grant	0 1 0
The Misses Pennington	Miss C. Howlett	0 5 0
Mrs. Lowenthal	W. H. Jewson, Esq.	0 10 0
Mrs. Rothera	Miss D. Jewson	0 6 0
Miss Rothera	Miss G. Shellshears	0 2 6
Miss Wilson	Mrs. Wells	0 2 6
	Profit on Literature	0 5 0
Per Miss D. Eades—	Whist Drive	1 10 0
Mrs. Gristwood		
Miss Baker	Per Miss A. Williams—	
Miss Chance	Returned fare	0 11 9
Miss Barnes	Mrs. Harman	0 2 0
Mrs. Abbott	Miss Jose	0 2 6
Miss Hutchinson	Goods sold in shop	0 0 6
Miss M. Floyd	A temper letter	0 0 3
Office Fund	Miss C. Speed	0 10 0
Mrs. Parker	Mrs. Stevenson-Howell	0 5 0
Miss R. Marion	Mrs. D. A. Thomas	1 0 0
Mrs. Menke		
Mrs. Neale Lucas	By-Election	
Mrs. Patrick (per)	Mrs. E. M. Bigger	1 0 0
Miss Midgley (per)	Hon. Mrs. Forbes	1 0 0
	Miss Alice Heale	0 10 6
Per Miss Morris Hughes—	Mrs. Smithwick	0 5 0
Miss Baker	Miss Edith Mott	1 1 0
Nurse Cooper	Per Misses Crocker and Roberts—	
Miss Aicken	Dr. Moffatt	1 1 0
Mrs. Bray	Extra on "V.F.W." at Hanley By-Election	0 5 0
Miss W. Gordon		
	Membership Fees	3 3 0
	Collections, Tickets, &c.—	
	London	65 1 3
	Per Miss G. Allen	0 14 0
	Per Miss M. Allen	2 3 0
	Per Miss D. Evans	2 8 4
	Per Miss Morris	7 13 15
	Per Miss Key Jones	0 16 0
	Per Miss C. Markwick	1 0 0
	Per Miss A. E. Miller	1 0 0
	Per Miss G. Roe	2 6 5
	Per Miss M. West	1 2 6
	Total	£132,715 9 0

TRIAL OF THE MILITANT SUFFRAGISTS IN DUBLIN

Sequel to the Visit of "England's Ambassador of Peace"

At the opening of the City Commission at Green Street Courthouse on Thursday, December 1, "true bills" were found by the Grand Jury against Mrs. Leigh, Miss Gladys Evans, Mrs. Jeannie Baines, and Miss Mabel Capper. The courthouse was crowded, and great interest was taken in the proceedings. In dealing with the indictments Mr. Justice Madden referred with regret to the militant protests during the recent visit of the Prime Minister to Dublin.

"It appears from the information before me," he said, "that the perpetrators of these crimes came over from England, took lodgings together in this city, apparently acting in concert, and there is no reason to suppose that they had any aids or abettors in Ireland. . . . The case for the Crown is that these outrages, and another to which I am about to call your attention, were not isolated acts of crime, but the result of the joint and concerted action of all the prisoners, so as to render them equally responsible to the law. A body of evidence to this effect will be laid before you, and it will be for you to consider whether that evidence, uncontradicted, leads to the conclusion which I have indicated."

Referring to the hatchet incident Mr. Justice Madden said:—"The second outrage was also of a most serious character. . . . Gentlemen, a hatchet thrown at close quarters is a most dangerous engine of attack, capable of causing serious and even fatal injury, and the person who flung that hatchet at the occupants of that carriage must be taken as realising and contemplating the consequences which might naturally be expected to follow from such an act. With the motive which prompted the perpetration of these crimes we are not concerned; but we cannot shut our eyes to patent facts which are matters of common knowledge, and, indeed, are disclosed by the depositions before me. It is known to all that a section of the advocates for the admission of women to the franchise, commonly known as militant suffragettes, seem to have come to the conclusion, by some inscrutable process of reasoning, that the cause which they profess—and I believe sincerely profess—to have at heart will be advanced and recommended to public favour by a series of crimes and outrages committed in its name. Beginning with offences against property of a comparatively trivial nature they have advanced to crimes of a far more serious character, such as those which are the subject of investigation by you. But, gentlemen, you will not trouble yourselves with considerations of motives. Crime is crime. And the public are entitled to the protection of the law, whatever be the motive by which it is prompted. Your sole duty is to examine the evidence brought before you upon behalf of the Crown, and if it raises a *prima facie* case against the prisoners, or any of them, to find true bills accordingly. I have not taken you, gentlemen, through the details of the indictment. I do not think that any questions are likely to arise causing the slightest difficulty, but if there are I am here to give you any assistance in my power."

The trial was fixed for Tuesday, August 6.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 6

In a crowded court, before Mr. Justice Madden and a jury, at Dublin on Tuesday last, the trial opened. That day's proceedings resulted in the conviction of Miss Gladys Evans, but the jury were unable to agree as to Mrs. Leigh's case so far as the conspiracy and setting fire to the theatre were concerned, and her trial on the indictment of throwing a hatchet and unlawfully wounding Mr. John Redmond, was postponed to the following day.

Mrs. Baines pleaded guilty to a minor offence of occasioning damage to property. The case against Miss Capper was withdrawn, and she was discharged.

The Attorney-General for Ireland (Mr. Ignatius O'Brien), Mr. Seymour Bushe, K.C., Mr. Dudley White, K.C., and Mr. Gerald Horan conducted the prosecution. Mr. T. M. Healy, K.C., appeared for all the prisoners except Mrs. Leigh, who conducted her own case, and addressed the jury at considerable length on the woman suffrage movement, pointing out that women had tried constitutional methods, which had failed, and contending that the case against her had not been proved. The judge referred to her as "a very remarkable lady, of great talents."

The jury, after considering some time, stated they could not agree.

Mrs. Leigh was then arraigned on the indictment that she had unlawfully wounded Mr. John Redmond by throwing

a hatchet. She pleaded not guilty. The investigation of this charge and the sentences were postponed till Wednesday.

AN IMPRESSION

On Tuesday morning, at the City Commission Court in Dublin, the trial of the English Suffragettes opened before Mr. Justice Madden. Long before the proceedings, in which the greatest interest on the part of the public was manifested, commenced, the thoroughfare opposite the court-house was thronged with an excited and miscellaneous crowd of spectators, who greeted the arrival of persons professionally concerned with the case apparently as their party feelings prompted—cheers and groans alternating. The entrance to the Court was kept clear by police, who at first interpreted their instructions to be that no ladies were to be admitted. So extraordinary and unjustifiable an order in respect of a case specially affecting women's liberties and bearing intimately upon the cause which so many women have deeply at heart, was naturally calculated to arouse indignant protest. Steady and menacing pressure upon the officers in control was not without its speedy effect; a whisper passed that the serenity of the Court might be disturbed by the shattering of glass; a baulked Suffragette was a restless element, of unknown dangerous possibilities. Therefore, a belated concession allowed some women to enter when already most of the available space was occupied by men less obviously concerned in the proceedings.

Inside, the crowded court bubbled with excitement. The special political significance of the trial was strongly marked in the current of undertone which buzzed through the audience at frequent intervals—so frequent that the judge repeatedly threatened to have the Court cleared, and characterised as unseemly more than one overflow of humorous emotion. Recent events have thrown into strong relief in the public mind the open and acknowledged hostility of the Hibernian Order to the Suffrage Cause, so that Mr. Healy's reference to the undesirability of the presence of members of that order on the jury excited little astonishment. In his fine and impassioned speech for the defence of Miss Gladys Evans, he further surveyed that society's lineal descent from the Ribbonmen, and of the transformation of the felon victims of Mr. Gladstone's administration into the bosom-friends and torch-bearers of his successor, Mr. Asquith. He was frankly contemptuous of the trifling quantity of the damage to a couple of curtains, a carpet, and two chairs, not only in comparison with the vaster outrages committed by the fore-runners of the present-day electors, but, with a greater and still more powerful emphasis, in comparison with the daily and hourly destruction of women's and children's lives in the cities of our civilisation. The Government, he said, stirs not its little finger to prevent that colossal outrage which is stirring the hearts of noble women all over the land to despair of constitutional reliance upon the promises of legislators and Cabinet Ministers.

Magnificent as was the plea of Mr. Healy, the dramatic feature of the day was undoubtedly Mrs. Leigh's defence of her own case. Slight and frail in outward appearance, spontaneous and alert in manner, she seemed strangely out of place among the burly officials and dull routine of a court of justice. Her masterly cross-examination was so searching as seriously to baffle several witnesses and confuse their evidence on the point of identification, so that the jury found themselves unable to agree that she actually was one of the persons who fired the Theatre Royal. Her speech to the Court was a heroic effort. It was not rhetoric, nor careful arrangements of arguments and telling points, nor even eloquence, that moved the hearts so strongly of all who gazed upon her pleading countenance as she laboured to reiterate the long tale of injustice and evasion meted out to the women who asked for the removal of the disqualification of their sex, and the equally long tale of the steadily successful attainment by men of their political objects in England and in Ireland by the sole means of agitation by violence. The pathos of her passionate determination to persevere in her efforts to the emancipation of her womanhood moved the judge himself and many another with deep emotion. Her courage was an amazement even to women who have felt most deeply the things which we have at heart.

M. A. C. WILKINS, M.A.

IN THE COURT

The Clerk of the Crown read out the joint indictment against the four women. This was composed of twelve counts, in which they were charged:

1. With having on July 18 last feloniously, unlawfully, and maliciously set fire to the Theatre Royal.
2. Feloniously attempting to set fire to the theatre by a certain overt act, viz., setting fire to certain carpets, curtains, chairs, &c.
3. Setting fire to certain carpets, cur-

tains, chairs, &c., the property of the theatre.

4. Feloniously, unlawfully, and maliciously placing in the theatre a quantity of a certain explosive, viz., gunpowder, with intent to damage the said building.

5. Unlawfully causing an explosion in the theatre by means of a metal case containing an explosive in the nature of gunpowder.

6. Causing by means of gunpowder an explosion of a nature likely to cause serious injury to property.

7. Causing by means of a certain explosive unknown an explosion of a nature likely to endanger life.

8. Causing an explosion in the theatre likely to cause serious injury to its property.

9. Conspiring with other persons to cause an explosion in the United Kingdom of a nature likely to endanger life.

10. Conspiracy likely to cause serious injury to property.

11. Like conspiracy to cause danger to life by means of an explosive.

12. Like conspiracy to cause danger to property by means of an explosive.

The indictment having been read, each of the women answered "Not guilty" in a clear voice.

The Clerk of the Crown before calling the jury panel intimated to the women that they had a right to twenty challenges.

The Attorney-General asked Mr. Healy

and they are here by orders of the Government, I have no doubt.

The trial of Miss Gladys Evans was then proceeded with.

The Attorney-General said there were four prisoners in the dock, but the other three need not remain there unless they liked.

Mr. Healy: You would not let them out on bail. You may as well allow them to amuse themselves.

All the women elected to remain in the dock.

The Attorney-General said it was his duty to open to them shortly facts, which would be proved to them in detail, and which would bring home to Miss Gladys Evans an offence of the most serious character. It was because it was serious that he was there representing the public to prosecute. They had heard a number of indictments detailing in legal language the crime with which she was charged, but the facts relating to each of these crimes—though they were separate crimes—were the same. They would direct their attention solely and entirely to the facts which would be proved to them in evidence. In substance what the lady was charged with was this: On July 18, between two performances of a variety entertainment in the Theatre Royal, while there were still a number of people in the theatre, this lady was one of two who joined together, reckless of consequences, reckless of danger to human life, and danger of the destruc-



Cooper, Northampton

MRS. LEIGH

MRS. BAINES

MISS CAPPER

PANIC SENTENCES!

Mrs. Leigh
5 Years' Penal Servitude.

Miss Evans
5 Years' Penal Servitude.

Mrs. Baines
7 Months' Hard Labour.

(Miss Capper—Discharged.)



MISS GLADYS EVANS

whether counsel for the defence would join in their challenges.

Mr. Healy replied that he would prefer not to say anything at present.

The Attorney-General: If not, each of the accused will have to be tried separately.

Mr. Healy: I will give no reply.

Mr. Justice Madden: It is a matter entirely for the Attorney-General.

Mr. Healy: We cannot shut our eyes to what is happening over here or anywhere else. If my friend will say he will exclude from the jury members of a secret society known as the "Molly Maguires," I will join my challenges.

The Attorney-General: I will take the accused one by one.

Miss Gladys Evans was then separately indicted as above, and the other prisoners on being given their choice of remaining in the dock or going to the cells underneath the court, elected to remain as they were.

Mr. Healy: You would not let them out on bail, and they may as well stay here and enjoy themselves.

The following jury was sworn to try the women:—George A. Thompson (foreman), Wm. Kaye, Harold C. Barsford, Peter Deane, Anthony Lavery, Wm. Garlick, David Jermyn, Thomas Elliott, Hugh Lecky, Wm. Jameson, Alfred A. Jennings, Thos. Pearson.

The following were challenged on behalf of the prisoner:—Richard Wall, Wm. Kavanagh, Leo Peter Ganter, Peter E. Farrell, Joseph Delahunt, Aidan McDonald, Andrew Carroll, John Gardiner, Paul Lawlor, John F. Keene, John Shanahan, Thomas Garland, Thomas Hanley, Edward Lawless, Patrick McDonough, and David O'Connor.

When the jury had been empanelled, the Attorney-General said he had suggested originally that the four defendants should be tried together, but Mr. Healy objected.

Mr. Justice Madden: It all rests with you, Mr. Attorney-General.

Mr. Healy: I simply wanted to exclude members of a certain secret society. I don't want to be insulted by Hibernians. They are brigaded at the door, my lord,

tion of the building, attempted to fire it and damage it by explosion. It was not because providentially loss of life and large damage to property did not occur that this crime was any the less. There was nothing in the case which, so far as the jury were concerned, had anything to say to any question of opinion which might be debated in political circles, or to any questions upon which any section of the community might have views differing from others, because nothing could justify the crime which was attempted on that night. They would see that what occurred was the result of a careful plan, careful premeditation. On July 16, two days before the perpetration of the crime—two ladies came to a lodging-house, No. 15, Lower Mount Street, which was carried on by a lady named Campbell. Miss Gladys Evans was one of these ladies, and she was accompanied by another lady, a Mrs. Baines. They informed the lodginghouse-keeper, or rather the servant, a woman named Kelly, that they would want lodgings for one or two nights for four ladies. Undoubtedly two other ladies came, and on the morning of the 18th a third lady arrived at the house—a Mrs. Leigh—and in the afternoon a lady named Miss Mabel Capper came. This was no casual meeting of people. It was nothing except an arranged meeting between four people, and the object of it they would have no difficulty in determining.

On the night of the 18th there was a great demonstration in the shape of a torchlight procession in the city of Dublin in honour of the advent to Dublin of the Prime Minister of England. On the night following there had been arranged a great meeting in the Theatre Royal, at which the Prime Minister was to speak. Miss Evans had nothing to do with what had previously taken place in the street, but the acts of which she was guilty were sufficient to be laid to her charge.

A variety entertainment, the Attorney-General went on to say, was being performed at the Theatre Royal on the evening of the 18th July, the night before the meeting arranged to be held in the Theatre Royal. Those entertainments were arranged in sets. The first performance

took place between 7 and 9, and the second performance some time between 9 and 11. Accordingly, between 8 and 9 o'clock the audience that had heard the first entertainment left, and their place would be taken in a short time by the audience arriving to hear the second part of the programme. Proceeding to explain the exact place where the acts imputed to the accused were committed, he said the acts she committed took place in the row of seats second under the cinematograph box—at Row G in front of the cinematograph box. When the audience were leaving, a flame was seen on a carpet in front of seat No. 20 in Row G. It flashed out. At the same moment two soldiers fortunately noticed it, and they were able ultimately to extinguish the flame, but not before an explosion took place which one of them described as like the discharge of an artillery gun, and undoubtedly the jury would see that the explosive was calculated to cause terror in the theatre. Counsel held up a red-coloured tin flask with strings attached, which he said was found on the ground near a chair. The probabilities were, he said, that this box flask was tied to some part of the chair so that it pointed downwards to the carpet underneath. The jury, on examining it, would be satisfied that there was a cork in it, and after the outrage there was found on the ground the bottle (produced), the cork being out of it. Its contents had not entirely disappeared, which was probably due to the fact that it was held sideways, so that the time taken for the contents to flow out would enable the perpetrator of this outrage to get away as quickly as possible. The bottle was found on the carpet, and the jury would be satisfied that the carpet was saturated with petrol, which in all probability came from the bottle. The accused was seen, and would be identified as having thrown a lighted match on the carpet, and the carpet blazed up; and when the flame touched the flask that was fixed there it exploded. She ran away, and she was seen to throw something into the cinematograph box—the iron building he had described. She was going to throw and effectually throw the bag (produced), which was open, into the cinematograph box, and afterwards threw it in, and she was afterwards seen trying to throw a lighted match into the box. The cinematograph operator afterwards found a substance which looked like gunpowder. He pointed out that the jury had nothing to do with the motives of the perpetrator of this crime; and that where three or more persons were found conspiring together to carry out an illegal or criminal purpose, they were each equally guilty. While this lady was operating in the manner described at the back of the parterre another woman was making careful and even successful preparations for causing a conflagration in Box A. One could imagine this misguided lady fleeing after seeing what she had done, and looking back and seeing what was being done further down at the corner of the box, at the time that the crowd of people were leaving. A more deliberate attempt to burn the theatre was never made. Counsel then described how the curtain of the box overlooking the stage was ignited. The curtain and the chairs in the box were saturated with a combustible liquid—with petrol or petroleum, or something of the sort. During the short time that the woman was in the box, she contrived to soak the greatest part of the curtain with the liquid. The methods employed showed great ingenuity. After the fire was put out a water bottle was found there.

Counsel, continuing, said that accused was seen throwing a light into the cinematograph box, and when arrested, and with the excitement of crime upon her, she actually said that she meant to burn the theatre.

People in the frenzy of evil upon them very often forget the natural consequences of the acts they committed. If those acts were the result of something spontaneous arising at the moment, though the law would have to punish the persons, the crime was not as serious as a crime that had been carefully planned. The object of the visit of the four prisoners to Dublin was not for the purpose of a holiday. The articles found in the house in Lower Mount Street showed that their object was quite different. Amongst those articles was a pair of surgical gloves. Finger marks might betray a criminal but crime had met science by art, and the wearing of the gloves would, of course, prevent detection by finger marks. Those four ladies came to Dublin for a common purpose, and that common purpose was carried out by their acts, which could not be justified. Counsel and the jury had a duty to perform, and to the fact that the accused was misguided and blinded to the seriousness of the act she committed, they had nothing to say. They must preserve life and property in their own city, and if it were to go forth, for one second, that acts of the kind with which prisoner was charged were to be perpetrated with impunity, to pass unpunished, that any jury could fail to draw the logically clear inference that must be drawn from the evidence, the end would be still worse. Acts of that kind must be stopped, and the jury would stop them.

The Evidence

Mr. Joseph P. Keogh, 2, George's Quay, stated, in answer to Mr. Bushe, that he was in the Theatre Royal on the evening of the 18th inst. He attended the first performance, and as he was coming from

the cloak-room to the dress-circle he saw Miss Gladys Evans standing near the cinematograph box.

Did you see her do anything to the box?—She put a match into the cinematograph box.

Was it lighting or not?—Lighting. She then walked away a bit and stood on the stairs.

Did you say anything to her?—I asked did she want to burn the theatre, and she informed me that she would do anything she liked—that no one would stop her. She attempted to move towards the cinematograph box again. I caught a hold of her by the arm to prevent her doing so. I saw a carpet on fire about two rows in front of the box. It was being put out by Sergeant Cooper.

In box A did you see a lady?—Yes.

What was she doing?—She was in a stooping position, and, as far as I could see, she was trying to spread the flame. I could not identify that lady. I heard an explosion where the carpet was on fire. There is no doubt the explosion was caused by powder.

Cross-Examined by Mr. Healy

Was the explosion as loud as the Clerkenwell explosion?—I don't know.

The explosion that blew up the Irish Church?—I don't know.

Did the second performance at the theatre that night go on as usual afterwards?—I think so.

And the public of Dublin came in as usual, paid their money as usual, and saw the performance as usual?—Yes.

You know, of course, that these ladies put on surgical gloves for the purpose of preventing detection? You heard the Attorney-General suggest that?—Yes.

Did this lady wear any of these gloves?—No.

John Ferguson, an attendant in the Theatre Royal, deposed that he was on duty at the back of the dress circle about 8.30 on the night in question, and saw the accused, whom he now identified in the dock. He saw her come to the back of the cinematograph box, put her hand out and open the door and then fling a bag (produced) inside it. Having done that she made an effort to get in under the fencing that surrounds the box. She also struck matches and pitched them from her towards the door of the box.

By Mr. White, K.C.

What did you do then?—I stuck to her until we got her out (laughter).

Did you catch hold of her?—No, sir; I did not hold her. There was an Army sergeant there, and we got her arrested at the bottom of the stairs leading down to the hall of the theatre.

Did you hear her say anything as to what she had done?—Yes; outside the dress circle, when she was trying to get back, I heard her say, "I was well persuaded to do what I done."

Mr. Healy: I am sure she did not speak bad grammar.

Mr. White: Did she try to get back?—She resisted to get back, but she was prevented.

Witness, continuing, said he afterwards picked up the bag (already identified) and a silver match-box beside the cinematograph apparatus. When he found the bag he noticed that there was gunpowder in it.

Mr. White: As a matter of fact did the prisoner struggle to get back?—Yes.

And did she lie down several times?—Yes.

Where?—At the door of the gentlemen's lavatory on the lobby.

Was that after the police had come?—No; they had not come at that time.

Who were with her?—A sergeant of the military and Mr. Keogh.

About the same time did you notice anything happening in box A?—Yes; I saw the curtain ablaze. I assisted in putting it out. The carpet was also on fire.

Mr. Ffode, in cross-examination of the witness, called his attention to the fact that in his original deposition he had sworn: "I held on till I got Miss Evans arrested." Witness said that was not correct. What he did say was that he stuck to her until she was arrested.

To the Court: What he meant was that he remained about and did not let her out of his sight.

Mr. Ffode: You are not very precise in your language. Perhaps she did not use the words you say she did?—Oh, yes; it was "I was well persuaded to do what I am doing," or something like that.

Was it a fact, as the Attorney-General described it, that she tried to slip furtively out of the theatre?—It is a fact; but there were too many there to let her.

And yet she tried, according to your evidence, to get back again to the cinematograph box?—She lay down.

Lying down and trying to get back to the cinematograph box are not the same as trying to slip out of the theatre. Do you still say she tried to get away?—She did; but she was not able.

Sergeant Durban Cooper, of the Connaught Rangers, in reply to the Attorney-General, stated he was at the first house in the Theatre Royal on the 18th July, with his wife and Colour-Sergeant Shea. He was in the theatre when the curtain fell. They were in the dress circle, in the second row from the front. They were preparing to leave, and witness was putting on his waterproof, when he saw a flame from the cinematograph box. He immediately rushed up and saw a lady. He took his mackintosh off and started to beat the

flame out. While he was beating it out the prisoner, Miss Evans, went a little bit further on, struck a match, and set fire to more of the carpet. Then she went on to the end of the row. They got the flame out, and just after that there was an explosion. There was a flash, a loud report, and a cloud of smoke. A flash came from the place where they had got the fire out.

Was it a loud report?—Just like a round of blank from a field artillery gun. There were twelve or fourteen people leaving the dress circle. The orchestra were playing, and the curtain was being lowered. As soon as the explosion took place I saw this lady go to the back of the cinematograph box, open the door, strike two matches, and throw them in. I naturally thought there was danger, and I made a rush for her. As she was going down the stairs I caught her, and we both fell down the stairs together. (Laughter.)

Did you see the stage boxes at any time?—Oh, yes; that was on fire at the same time I and Colour-Sergeant Shea were putting the flames out. When the lady got up she said: "This is only the starting of it, and there will be more explosions in the second house."

By Mr. Healy

I suppose, sergeant, you thought it was civil war?—To tell you the truth, I thought the lady met with an accident—that she was going to have a cigarette and accidentally set fire to the place.

You did not think it was civil war?—I did not.

What do you think of people who would incite to civil war, and were allowed to do so openly and without indictment?—Am I to answer that, my Lord?

Mr. Healy: Very well. He does not want to commit the Government. (Laughter.)

Further Evidence

Colour-Sergeant John Shea, Royal Welsh Fusiliers, also gave evidence as to seeing the flames, which he at once went to extinguish with Sergeant Cooper. They got the flames under, and he noticed a bottle on the floor. After they had extinguished the flames he saw the prisoner strike two matches and throw them into the cinematograph box. He afterwards heard a report and an explosion, and there was a cloud of smoke. The report was like that from a field gun using blank cartridge. He looked over and saw that the box nearest the stage was on fire also. Miss Evans could not have done that. Immediately after the explosion he saw Sergeant Cooper having a hold of her and going down the steps into the hall.

Mr. Ffode: She didn't appear to be escaping?—No.

Robert Johnson, a stage carpenter in the theatre, examined, deposed to finding a powder flask at the cinematograph box. There were strings to it which were smouldering. He also found a bottle.

Edward White, an attendant on the dress circle stairs, stated that he saw the curtain ablaze. He took two buckets of water and put the flames out. When he went into the box the carpet was ablaze, and one of the chairs was burned also. He found a wicker bag which contained patent fire lighters. That was blazing, too.

George Harkins, the bioscope operator at the Theatre Royal, was the next witness examined. After the first turn on the night in question he went away. On his return at 9 o'clock he examined the cinematograph box. He found a bag and some fire-lighters there. The bag was lying on its side in a corner, open. The box contained gunpowder, and what appeared to be gunpowder was over all the box and the machine.

Constable Wm. B. Taylor, who arrested the accused in the theatre, was next examined. He stated that while on duty in the theatre he arrested the lady as she was standing in the hall of the theatre. He told her she was his prisoner, and gave her the usual caution.

Mr. Dudley White (who examined the witness): Did you make any charge against her?—I did not then.

Did she say anything?—She did. She said that she had come there with the intention of burning down the Theatre Royal, and that Mr. Hobhouse, who was a responsible Minister of the Crown, had told them that they were perfectly justified in doing this, and that they were doing it as a protest against Mr. Asquith, who had refused giving them the vote when addressing a meeting.

You took her off then?—Yes; I took her off.

A Thimble

The witness identified the several articles produced which had been handed to him by the manager of the theatre, Mr. Terry. There was a piece of wood in a handbag which contained gunpowder, a lady's thimble. The flask had the smell of petrol or gunpowder. One of the curtains was singed with fire. Amongst the articles was a basket which contained gunpowder and some combs, probably celluloid.

Here the Attorney-General intervened, and said that the latter were certainly not celluloid, as they had been tested, and were not inflammable. "Let us be fair," he said.

Cross-Examined by Mr. Healy

How long are you in Dublin?—About twenty-six years.

Do you remember the explosion at the National Press office?—I do.

Did you read the article approving of it

that appeared the next day in the *Free-man's Journal*?—I cannot say I did.

But you remember the explosion?—Yes. Was anybody arrested for it?

Mr. Justice Madden: Do you know of your own knowledge?—No.

Mr. Healy: Was anybody arrested for it?—Not to my knowledge.

When the explosion occurred at Exchange Court were you in the force?—I was.

Was anybody arrested for it?—Yes, and he was acquitted.

A poor man lost his life?—He did.

And I suppose you know very well that nothing has ever been gained for this country except as the result of violence—isn't that so?

Witness (hesitating): I don't care to answer the question.

Mr. Justice Madden: You need not answer it.

Mr. Healy: He doesn't like to embarrass the Government. (Laughter.) I shall pass from that. Did this lady refer to Mr. Hobhouse?—She did.

Mr. Justice Madden: Did she?—Yes, my lord.

Mr. Healy: You know he is a Minister of the Crown?—Yes.

You are the most intelligent man we have had yet in the box. (Laughter.) And did you happen to read his speech?—No, sir; I did not read it all.

And do you know that he told them that they would not get the vote until Nottingham Castle was burned down?—I think he referred to it.

May I ask if you think that was a proper example to be given by a Minister of the Crown?

Mr. Justice Madden: You are not bound to answer that.

Mr. Healy: If my friend, the Attorney-General, was addressing a meeting, would you think it would be a proper thing for him to say that nothing would ever be done for Ireland until the houses in Dublin were burned down?

Mr. Justice Madden: That is a matter of opinion. It is not a matter of fact. You need not answer it.

Mr. Healy: I suppose you remember the Clerkenwell explosion?—No.

Now, can you tell me whether this was the day on which Mr. Asquith entered the city?—Yes, the evening of the day.

There was great enthusiasm for him?—Yes, there was.

And did you hear him speak?—No, sir.

Did you read his speech?—Portions of it—I didn't read it all.

Did you read that he praised Daniel O'Connell—did you read that?

Mr. Justice Madden: I don't think you are bound to answer that.

Inspector Bannon stated that on the night of the 18th inst., he charged the prisoner with setting fire to the Theatre Royal by throwing a fluid on the floor and setting fire to gunpowder. She claimed a handbag at the station. He examined the seats in the Theatre Royal on the 19th inst., and found seat No. 20 in the second row in front of the cinematograph box, scorched.

Mr. Healy: Have you formed any view as to the motive this lady had?

Mr. Justice Madden: You need not answer that.

Mr. John Moody, conductor of the orchestra at the Theatre Royal, stated that on the night of the 18th ult. he saw a lady in Box A stooping down, and immediately afterwards there was a chair flung, and it fell beside witness. He identified the lady who threw the chair as the prisoner in the dock, who was not wearing a hat.

Mrs. Leigh was asked to stand forward to the dock. She did so, and the witness said that she was the lady he saw in the box.

Absolutely Unprecedented

Mr. Healy said he did not appear for Mrs. Leigh, but he considered the action of the Crown as irregular. It was a thing he had never seen done before, and it was absolutely unprecedented, and it would be only done against women.

Mr. Justice Madden then got the prisoners who were not on trial to withdraw from the dock, and they did so.

Mr. Frowell, a member of the Theatre Royal orchestra, gave somewhat similar evidence.

Miss Mary Kelly, 15, Lower Mount Street, deposed that she assisted Mrs. Cameron, who let some of her rooms for lodgings. On the evening of July 16 four ladies, of whom the accused was one, came and engaged rooms in the house. That was about 6.30 in the evening. They had breakfast together next morning, and two of the ladies went away, and did not come back. Their places were taken by two other ladies—Mrs. Mary Leigh and Miss Capper, who came on the 18th, but Miss Capper did not arrive until 11.45 p.m. That same evening Miss Evans left the house about 7.15, and did not come back any more. Mrs. Leigh left the house at a quarter to eight, and returned home about 10.30, looking as if she had been in trouble, and had been knocked about. She did not know when Mrs. Baines went out. It was she who made the arrangements for the other ladies.

Detective-Sergeant Forrest deposed that he paid a first visit to 15, Mount Street about a quarter to 12 o'clock on the night of the 18th July. As he approached the door, with two other officers, he saw Miss Capper, accompanied by Mrs. Baines, arrive on a hackney car, and enter the door of the house. Witness followed inside immediately, and spoke to Miss Kelly, and

she brought down Miss Capper. He also saw Mrs. Leigh and Mrs. Baines. They were all given in charge then. The next morning he and the other officers accompanying him went back to the house, shortly after eight o'clock. On the first landing they found a lady's handbag, which he had seen the previous day with Mrs. Baines.

Mr. Healy, intervening at this point, said he had been asked on behalf of the other accused to apply that they should be allowed to remain in court to hear the evidence.

Mr. Justice Madden: They elected to remain at the beginning, and then an incident occurred which I will take very good care does not prejudice them. But if they wish to hear the evidence, I do not object. I think it is a reasonable request on their part, and I thought so at the commencement.

The defendants were again admitted into the dock.

Witness, continuing, said that on being opened the bag was found to contain a packet of gunpowder and a pair of india-rubber gloves. In the same room, in an empty wardrobe, was found an empty india-rubber bag, which at that time smelt strongly of some kind of oil. In an adjoining room a Theatre Royal programme was found, and in another room, on the next landing, in a dressing table drawer, there was a letter, with 8s. 6d. in money. The letter read:—"If unable to return, enclosed 8s. 6d. for expenses. Small parcel please keep until sent for."

Professor E. M'weeney stated that he had been called in as analyst in this case, and had examined a number of articles submitted to him. The packet which was found in Mrs. Baines's bag contained a substance which was undoubtedly gunpowder. He had also received from the police a bottle labelled like a medicine bottle. It contained a milky fluid which smelt like petrol or benzine. He tested it by experimenting as to its boiling point, its inflammability, and its giving off of inflammable vapour. In all these respects it corresponded with petrol. He also tested a portion of it on blotting paper. It burst rapidly into flame when a match was applied to it, and also as it approached a gas flame. The stuff was highly inflammable. This closed the case for the Crown.

Mr. Healy's Speech

Mr. Healy, K.C., then addressed the jury on behalf of the defendant. Needless to say, counsel began, the lady in the dock was no ordinary criminal, nor in her view and the view of those who sympathised with her, was she a criminal at all; and when the objects for which she stood indicted had been achieved she, whom they were now asked to send to prison, and those who were indicted with her, would be held in honour and respect. She represented a cause which had, not once, but many times, been approved by solemn vote of Parliament. She represented an order of thought which said when women were taxed to sustain the community they should have a voice in the governing and distribution of these taxes. She represented the cause of those who said that when women were allowed to choose Town Councillors and County Councillors they might well be allowed a voice in the selection of members of Parliament, who, from what he had seen of them, were really not the extraordinary body of sacrosanct persons that they might imagine. The accused, with others, had been engaged in this agitation for a considerable time. In the course of it promises had been held out to them by responsible Ministers that legal effect should be given to the wishes of that section of the community who wished to have a voice in the distribution of the taxes which they provided. These Ministers—not all of them, but several of them—instead of making good their word, met these ladies with deceit and with injury, and one of them—a gentleman occupying the responsible position of the President of the King's Council—told them they would not be taken seriously unless they protested, as other franchise reformers had protested fifty years ago, by burning down castles, as at Nottingham, or by tearing up the railings of Hyde Park, as they were torn up in '67. That was the language used not by rowdy corner boys, but by men occupying grave, serious offices of trust under the King's Government. And these ladies, met with the taunt that they were not serious, took up the challenge of the Minister of State, and said they would show him whether they were serious or not.

It would not be his (counsel's) place to argue the merits or demerits of this question. They must understand that there were special subjects which had inflamed the minds of those ladies, the most of whom lived in London, and who saw perishing before their eyes year after year an army of women and children, a traffic in human beings, a traffic in young girls whose lives were destroyed and blasted, whose parents were dishonoured, and to rescue whom the Government of the country never lifted a finger. They were in horror when the match was put to a theatre curtain; they were a blaze if petrol was spilled upon the carpet. But year after year two thousand young girls were ruined in London, and these women said to that Parliament of men:

"We have knocked and thundered at

your doors, and never have you raised a hand or voice to put down this iniquity."

When the White Slave Traffic Bill came before Parliament it was sent to a Grand Committee, presided over by Mr. T. P. O'Connor, where it was mauled and hacked out of shape. The Bill was sent back emasculated and useless to this Parliament that pretended to have the interests of women at heart. And without voice and without vote, these women were told by the Cabinet that they were not serious. The same Cabinet inflicted upon thousands of women a tax for insurance purposes without allowing them any voice as to how they would be taxed. Upon special subjects which concerned their sex they maintained they had a better right to be heard than they had received.

They maintained and insisted that until the promise so often made to them was kept, no Minister of the Crown should have peace or ease. Further, they said that Parliament never listened to the voice of any unprotected class until outrages and crime had proved the seriousness of the demand. There was not upon the Statute Book of England a single Act dealing with measures of what he might call a revolutionary kind until the momentum of disorder had produced the passage of the measure. Upon this night of July last these women came hither because the Prime Minister of their country was visiting Ireland. They came here in view of the fact that at the instance of Mr. Asquith no less than sixteen Irish members changed their votes on the franchise question. In other words, sixteen men who last year said it was right that women should have the franchise this year voted it was wrong, almost in the space of a revolving moon. It occurred to these ladies to come to the country which was the home and focus and heart of agitation to hear the Prime Minister talk; and the criminals in the dock heard the Prime Minister refer to men like Parnell and O'Connell and hold them up as glorious examples to their country. Mr. Asquith was surrounded by torch-bearers and welcomed by an organisation called the Ancient Order of Hibernians, which boasted that it was a lineal descendant of Ribbonmen, and just as criminals like O'Connell were now honoured with statues because they won, so in the same way the lineal descendants of the Ribbonmen were honoured by being the guard of honour of the Prime Minister of England. They had only to turn to the statute passed in their own lifetime, which rendered every man who surrounded him that night, had he lived in 1872, liable to a cell in Kilmainham Gaol. When horror was excited by the speech of his learned friend, it was well in this country to remember the past. There was a statute passed by Mr. Gladstone in 1871, which he would read for them.

Mr. Healy then read the Act of Parliament passed for the suppression of the Ribbon Society owing to the prevalence, it was stated in the preamble, of murder and other crimes resulting from its operations in certain districts in the County of Westmeath and the adjoining Counties of Meath and King's County. By Section 7 of that Act it was provided that any person who should be deemed to be reasonably suspected of being a member of the said Ribbon Society, or of directly or indirectly maintaining correspondence or intercourse with them, or aiding or abetting or supporting them by contributions or otherwise, was liable to be arrested on the warrant of the Lord Lieutenant and sentenced to two years' imprisonment.

"And now," said Mr. Healy, "they are the friends of Mr. Asquith. And to-day," he added, "it is that Society which appoints the Lord Lieutenant, which appoints the Attorney-General, which appoints the Crown Prosecutor in Green Street" (laughter).

Mr. Justice Madden: You will, in your own good time, come to the evidence.

Mr. Healy: I will, my lord. He was showing the jury that, when the hands of horror were thrown up at the acts for which Gladys Evans was charged, it was well, after all, to remember what the past of the country was, and by what means the liberties which we now enjoy were achieved, and the further liberties which were to be extended to us—by what means Land Acts and other Acts had been passed. And it was for following in the footsteps of these successful criminals—if they liked following in their footsteps at a long distance—that these ladies, whose acts had excited so much condemnation from his learned friend, stood in the dock.

"I very much regret," continued Mr. Healy, "very much, indeed, that such acts should have occurred. It is not my place to justify in any way any form of irregularity, and I decline to do so. But what has been done has been provoked by the conduct of those who are now engaged in prosecuting these women as criminals. This case has been grossly exaggerated. It was first tried in the newspapers. It received these inflammatory touches because the occasion was one which attracted national attention; and it was because it attracted national attention that these ladies determined to annex that attention of a national character to an incident which would make John Bull think. They have made him think, and so far from shrinking from the consequences of their acts, or taking to the use of rubber gloves to hide their handiwork, these ladies show their purpose. They declare it, and hundreds of others are ready to follow in their footsteps. The sooner, therefore, the public make up their minds for a settlement of

this question, the sooner such incidents will become part of the history of the past. These girls will suffer. You will convict them; my lord will send them reluctantly to prison. Others will take their place; and that, gentlemen, that is the only defence that I have to make."

The Judge's Charge

Mr. Justice Madden, in summing up, said that he must bring back the jury to the facts of the case. He left it to the discretion of counsel upon whom the duty devolved of defending the prisoner in the dock to do so in the manner which recommended itself to his mind, provided only there was no misstatement of fact or attempt to mislead the jury as to the matters proved before them. Then and there only did he interfere.

"But," continued his lordship, "I must tell you, gentlemen, you are bound to dismiss from your minds the considerations that have just been put before you. It is quite true that the admission of women to the franchise is perhaps the most important political question of the present day. It is a question upon which opinion is divided. I daresay, among any twelve gentlemen of intelligence like you, who have been following the course of public events, there would be a division of opinion, but, gentlemen, what we are investigating here is a question of evidence produced in a criminal prosecution. Whatever the motive of those who perpetrate a crime, crime is crime, and the public are entitled to the protection of the law. Therefore, I pass at once to a consideration of the only question that is before you, and it is this—whether it has been proved beyond all reasonable doubt that the prisoner, Gladys Evans, is guilty of the offence with which she is charged."

Continuing, his Lordship said that neither the prisoner herself nor her advocate had denied the commission of the act. With regard to the statement made by the prisoner to Constable Taylor in reference to Mr. Hobhouse, he regretted that the name of a public man, who was not present and had no opportunity of defending himself should have been introduced. The jury, however, had nothing to do with considerations of that kind. They were not concerned either with the merits of the question of the admission of women to the franchise. They were investigating a crime, which was stated to have been committed in advancement of the cause of getting women admitted to the franchise. It seemed strange that any rational being should imagine that their cause would be advanced, and recommended to general adoption, by a course of crime of this nature; but that was not for the jury to decide, and he again repeated that the only question for them was, were they satisfied beyond reasonable doubt that the prisoner was guilty of the crime with which she was accused.

Verdict of Guilty

The jury then retired, and after an absence of twelve minutes, returned to court with a verdict of guilty against Miss Evans, who was put back for sentence.

Charge Against Mrs. Leigh

Mrs. Mary Leigh, who defended herself, was arraigned on a similar indictment.

The following were sworn on the jury:—Messrs. John Shanahan (foreman), Henry O'Connor, James Walsh, Robert Oakes, Laurence Nugent, Gilbert Wallace, John Barry, Thomas O'Connor, Cornelius English, Wm. Faile, Henry Pemberton, and Peter Tynte.

Messrs. Laurence Rowe, Thomas Carrick, and Thomas Thornton were ordered to stand by.

Edward White, an attendant at the Theatre Royal, stated that on the night of the 18th ult. he saw the curtain of Box A on fire, and he rushed forward and put out the flames. He saw a lady coming forward from one of the boxes.

Mr. Bush: Would you recognise her?—No. When he went into the box he found a wicker basket containing a quantity of material known as a patent fire-lighter. He also found three bottles, one labelled "whisky." He also found two combs, which were burnt.

Cross-examined by Mrs. Leigh

You cannot identify me as the woman you met coming from the boxes?—No. He was responsible for putting out the fire in Box A. He took eight minutes to do so. After that there was no danger.

John Moody, conductor of the Theatre Royal orchestra, repeated his evidence as given in the previous case. He observed a lady in Box A, whom he identified as the accused. He saw her stooping down and then throw out of the box a lighted chair, which first struck the side of the proscenium, then glanced off the drop curtain, and finally fell between himself and the cello player. He then saw this same woman apply a lighted match to the curtain of the box nearest to the stage, and it started to blaze immediately. He also saw the fire at the cinematograph box, and heard the explosion which filled the theatre with smoke.

Mrs. Leigh, who started her cross-examination of witness by referring to him as "a paid hireling of the theatre," asked him first was it not his duty to give all his attention to his orchestra and the stage.

Witness answered: "Yes; when the performance is on."

When you saw this woman committing the act were the orchestra playing?—Yes. What particular thing took your eye to the box?—As I say, I saw you stooping down.

Accused insisted that the witness, placed in the orchestra, could not see the face of a lady stooping down in Box A, and that therefore he was not in a position to identify her.

Witness insisted that he had previously seen her face, and had no doubt of her identity.

Wm. Trowell, cello player, deposed that as they were playing the march on Mr. Moody told him to "look at her." He looked up, and saw the woman who threw the chair. He now identified her as the prisoner.

Miss Morrissey, barmaid, gave evidence to the effect that a lady got a ticket for Box A on the night in question, and she now identified her as the prisoner.

To the prisoner—The lady she saw wore a cerise hat and a motor veil.

Miss Mary Kelly, assistant at 15, Lower Mount Street, gave evidence as to three ladies calling at the house on the 15th July. Four ladies breakfasted in the house the following morning. She heard Mrs. Baines saying to Mrs. Leigh, "You can book two more ladies." The witness gave a description of the clothes worn by Mrs. Leigh on the evening of the 18th. When Mrs. Leigh returned she had not her cloak or hat, and she said she was hurt holding back Mr. Asquith's carriage.

By Mrs. Leigh: She could not say if the same lady (the prisoner) who came in at 6.30 was the same as the lady who subsequently went out again.

Detective-Sergeant Ahern deposed that he arrested the prisoner at about 11.50 at 18, Lower Mount Street, and she had been in custody since then.

Mrs. Leigh then addressed the jury on her own behalf, referring particularly to the agitation for the granting of the vote to women. She also referred to Irish history, and contended when the advocates for the vote could not succeed by constitutional means they were prepared to follow in the footsteps of rebels and those who had won reforms for their country by militant methods. In the course of their agitation the women had spilt no blood. The blood was shed on their side. Mr. Asquith was a public servant, and received money out of public funds—he was, in fact, a public hireling, and they had a right to follow him, and see that he did the work for which he was paid. They would follow him as close as his shadow, with the view of bringing home to his mind that they were adopting a line of tactics that were laid down as being successful. If it was not allowable for her to refer to Irish history, she might refer to modern instances like the Peamount Sanatorium. She stood for a principle, and would take her stand as a rebel against the conditions under which women were governed. In conclusion, she contended that the evidence offered did not prove any guilt against her, and trusted that the jury would take a strong and an independent stand in dealing with her case.

The Jury Disagree

Mr. Justice Madden having reviewed the evidence, the jury retired, and after about fifteen minutes' deliberation they returned into court.

The Foreman announced that they could not agree, and there was no hope of their agreeing. He was understood to say that they disagreed on the question of identification.

The jury were then discharged, and the prisoner was put back.

The Other Cases

In the case of Mrs. Baines, when arraigned she pleaded guilty to the minor charge, which was one concerned with an offence under the Malicious Damage to Property Act.

Mr. Healy said this lady was not seen in the theatre, and was not in any way concerned with the matters that took place there. Isolated instances like this were not likely to be repeated. It was not a case like one where punishment had to be inflicted for the purpose of prevention, and it was not one, he would suggest, which should be met with really deterrent punishment.

Mrs. Baines was put back.

Mrs. Leigh was then arraigned on the charge of wounding Mr. Redmond, and pleaded not guilty.

The Court was then adjourned until eleven o'clock on Wednesday.

As we went to press on Wednesday we received the following telegram from our Special Correspondent in Dublin:—

Mrs. Leigh and Miss Evans, five years' penal servitude; Mrs. Baines, seven months' hard labour. Hatchet charge postponed to October Session. The Judge, who was visibly affected, said it was his painful but imperative duty to pronounce a sentence that was calculated to have a deterrent effect. He hoped that when our Cause was advanced by lawful methods the sentences would by proper authority be reconsidered. Mrs. Leigh, on leaving the dock, said: "My lord, it will have no deterrent effect upon us."

[For the substance of the above report we are indebted to the *Dublin Evening Telegraph*. We hope next week to give Wednesday's proceedings and a full report of Mrs. Leigh's speech.]

IN COBBETT'S FOOTSTEPS

The purpose of Mr. F. E. Green's very interesting book on the re-colonisation of England* is summed up in the concluding chapter of it, where, discussing the present industrial unrest, he says: "So long as the workers are divorced from the land, so long will the unrest grow. The people are working at breaking point." And again:—

In spite of Insurance Bills little is done to ensure work for the unemployed. No new industries are created. In an age of competitive strife, to put one man to work means displacing another—everywhere, but on our wasted acres. Under our very feet lies an undeveloped source of wealth. When we have removed from our eyes the slime and grit of our cinder-strewn cities, then perhaps we shall awake to the necessity of re-colonising our own land.

At this time of summer holiday it will occur to many who read "The Awakening of England" that they might do worse than follow the writer's example and "cover the same ground on foot in Hampshire and Wiltshire that Cobbett rode over on horseback in 1826, marking the change in the conditions of rural life between his day and ours." This is, in effect, what Mr. Green does, and he finds that the labourers of to-day are no more willing, with an increased standard of comfort and higher rents to pay, to bring up their families on 12s. a week than, in Cobbett's day, they were to do it on 8s. And he does not go far on his tramp before he meets "the typical rustic," the gamekeeper, who represents the cause of the depopulation of rural England, the preservation of land for shooting that ought to be producing food for the nation and a livelihood for the people who live on it. Another cause is the low standard of wages; and the two together, according to our author, have driven all the intelligent people from the villages either into the towns or abroad to the colonies. In the same way, lack of suitable occupation for the women takes them into the cities in search of employment, and this, coupled with the difficulty of obtaining cottages, well known to everyone who has lived in a country village, accounts for the decline of the marriage rate in rural districts. But Mr. Green's pilgrimage is not confined to the deserted countryside that is given up to the preservation of game. Quite early in his book he leaves that on one side and begins to tell us about successful experiments made in cutting up large estates into small holdings, taking the fruit-growing at Evesham as a typical example of what can be done by men working, not for an employer, but on their own rented piece of land. Perhaps nothing proves his point better than one instance given of a man in a Norfolk village, who grows £70 worth of blackcurrants and raspberries on an acre of land that, six years ago, was producing £5 worth of food when farmed in the ordinary way.

The book is not, however, a mere treatise on small holdings, though for that part of it alone it would be worth reading, since it touches on many sides of this important question, and gives instances of successful results obtained from letting land in small plots both where the land is good and where it is naturally unproductive. But, as Mr. Green quotes from a Japanese proverb, "Beansauce that smells too much of bean sauce is not the best sort of bean sauce," and he goes further than many land reformers in dealing also with the housing question, with the difficulty of disposing of land produce, and the necessity for co-operative marketing, as it is already practised with great success at Street, in Gloucestershire; above all, with the desirability of supplementing agricultural work with some handicraft. His chapter on "The Workshop plus Land" is not the least useful in the book, the more so that it brings in women and their place in the agricultural problem. For, as the writer wisely points out, the woman who objects to living in a cottage that is actually attached to her husband's small holding has a good deal of reason on her side, since, for her, it means that her work is never done, and that, besides her housework, largely increased by a man who tramps in and out all day in muddy boots, she has pigs and chickens, ducks, &c., to look after, and probably much beside. Not that she is unwilling to help where she can, for, as Mr. Green says, it is a very different thing to come out for the day and help her husband over some particular job like fruit-picking from "being worried by a succession of minor disturbances and interruptions on a small holding." And without wishing all women to work as hard as the one instanced at Cradley Heath, who, the mother of a large family, made nails for half the day and left her forge at mid-day to work on her husband's allotment, one can see that the monotony of the ordinary housewife's life is greatly lessened when she can employ her spare time and improve her economic position and that of the home generally by practising some craft, as at Campden in Gloucestershire or at Compton and Haslemere in Surrey. And one is very grateful indeed to Mr. Green for his good-natured tilt at the preciosity of the cultured village workshop, where he was warned not to appear in the wrong colour scheme of tie and tweed, and where the word "peasant" is in danger of becoming a cult.

There are one or two good stories in the book. We will conclude by giving one that has some bearing on the subject of surpassing interest:—

During the recent attempts of the Suffragette party to obtain signatures in favour of woman's suffrage, I found that the poorer a man was the more anxious he was that only ladies of property should be allowed to vote. During haymaking, when I was working on my rick, . . . the following conversation took place.

George (the pitcher, who had been a Cockney carman): "I don't 'old with this yer suffragit business—leastways, not for the domesticated woman."

I: "Who do you mean, George?"

George: "I mean the wives of working chaps like myself, though no one can say I don't love my wife. I give 'er a kiss every mornin' afore I starts for work."

* "The Awakening of England." (By F. E. Green. Nelson, 2s.)

MAN, WOMAN, AND THE VIRTUES

"Each age has its standard of virtues. At their summit no longer stands courage." This from a leading article in the *Times*, entitled "The Subjection of Man." It goes on to say: "Could an Englishman of the seventeenth or eighteenth century revisit his old haunts he would be pretty sure to say that his descendants had become more feminine in speech, habits, and thoughts." The two sentences are full of contradictions. In the first place, courage always has and always must stand at the head of all the virtues, for through it the others exist, and without it there would be a weakening of moral fibre that would instantly affect the moral standards of a nation. In the second place, to become more feminine is not to become less courageous; and the suggestion in the *Times* leader that the virtues can be classified as either male or female is responsible for the whole Anti-Suffrage standpoint. We are reminded of the ancient Bishop who, in a Confirmation address, exhorted the boys to be virtuous and the girls to be courageous. His chaplain asked him afterwards if he had not inadvertently reversed the two qualities. "No," answered the Bishop. "I have never thought that virtue should be monopolised by women, nor courage by men."

As a matter of fact, Nature agrees with the Bishop. Inefficient education sometimes upsets the balance and engenders physical fear in girls and moral cowardice in boys; but courage by nature is pretty well distributed between the sexes, and no one who has followed the militant Suffrage movement of the past six years can doubt its existence in the average woman. This, after all, is not surprising, for in a state of civilisation, and especially in times of peace, the opportunities for showing courage are fewer among men than among women; and it would be far more true to say that modern conditions of life tend to some extent to limit manifestations of courage to women, than to say that courage has declined because life is not so dangerous to men as it used to be a couple of centuries ago. Life is always dangerous to women—most of all when she creates it. But the *Times* would not, perhaps, consider this an argument, for in the same leading article it says: "The disappearance of the baby is the most striking fact as to certain classes. The pet dog has taken its place."

A remark of this kind suggests two fallacies in the mind of the writer. To begin with, it assumes that the pet dog is a twentieth century innovation. It is a pity, thinking this, that the writer chose the seventeenth or eighteenth century for the date of his returned Englishman. Has he forgotten his Pope ("Rape of the Lock")?

Not louder shrieks to pitying Heav'n are cast, When husbands, or when lap-dogs, breathe their last. Secondly, that phrase, "the disappearance of the baby," suggests that it should be the business of every woman to have a baby to look after—a baby that never grows up, and that occupies every moment of her time and every atom of her intelligence and energy that is not demanded by her husband. It is no use arguing with people who see life, as it were, through a feeding-bottle; but the story of Mrs. Alice Trigg, of Hornsey, as related in last Tuesday's *Standard*, is an answer they might accept.

Mrs. Trigg went to the rescue of a constable who was trying to arrest a violent prisoner in the middle of a hostile crowd of five hundred people. Her sister-in-law went first to his assistance, but was badly knocked about. "Mrs. Trigg then handed her baby to an onlooker (says the *Standard*), and went to the aid of the constable, and succeeded in blowing his whistle till help came." At the subsequent police court proceedings the Chairman of the Bench remarked that "he was rather ashamed to say that as a rule it was the women and not the men who went to the help of the police on such occasions." Readers of *VOTES FOR WOMEN* will not, of course, need to be reminded that women can be courageous where courage is needed. Our object in mentioning the anecdote is to show people like those who write *Times* articles, that the baby has not entirely disappeared, that it does not prevent a woman from exercising courage like a man, and that when such an occasion, or any other occasion involving a public duty, arises, she hands the baby to an onlooker, and performs the public duty. There are some people who won't listen, however. They will still turn up at Suffrage meetings (or in the columns of the *Times*) and say, "Who's to mind the baby if women go out to vote?"

A favourite contention of Anti-Suffragists is that Suffragists have a very poor opinion of men. Almost in the same breath, they complain that Suffragists wish to be like men. It must be difficult to reconcile the two statements, but it is not a task that we have to perform, as we know that both are false. The *Lincoln Echo*, telling a story of Queen Elizabeth, in which she is represented as behaving with extreme discourtesy to a Mayor, comments thus—"Queen Elizabeth had no very exalted opinion of men's superior wisdom, and it is probable that she would have been an active Suffragist had she lived in these days." Possibly she would, but not on account of her contempt for men, which would, indeed, rather point to her being an "Anti." Similarly, a correspondent, writing to the *Freeman's Journal* (anonymously, of course!), defines a Suffragette as a woman "who, through some mysterious dispensation of Providence, got the idea into her head that she ought to have been a man . . . until at length she stood forth in all her unsexed and unblushing brazenness—a Militant Suffragette." We have never seen brass blush; but then, neither have we seen a Militant Suffragist who tried to be like a man, so that makes us quits with the writer. But it is really time to remind "Anti's," such as the writer of this turgid prose, of their own basic principle—Men are men and Women are women.

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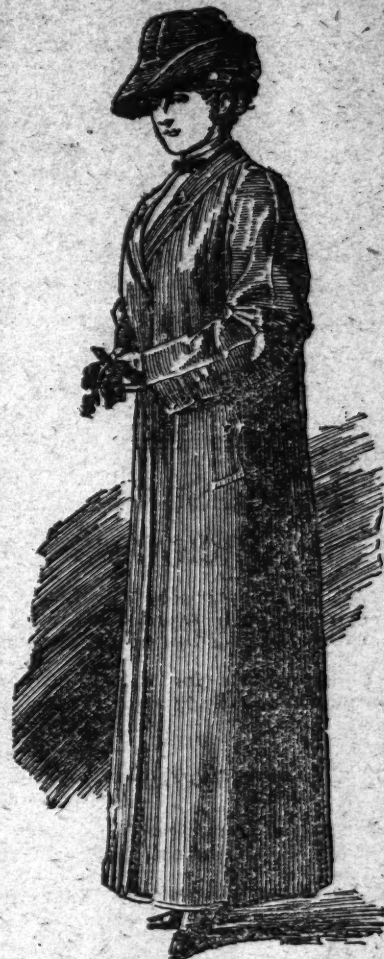
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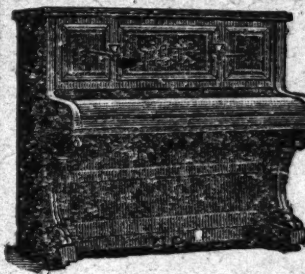
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ANNOUNCEMENTS

The weekly free meetings in London have been discontinued for the summer recess. They will be resumed on Monday afternoon, October 7, and Thursday evening, October 10.

Prisoners' Secretary.

All inquiries with regard to prisoners should be addressed to Miss Winifred Mayo, W.S.P.U., 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

Royal Albert Hall, London, Thursday, October 17.

Readers are reminded that the Albert Hall meeting on Thursday, October 17, at 8 p.m., will be held as a welcome to the Leaders of the W.S.P.U., and in honour of the men and women Suffragists who have suffered imprisonment during 1912. Therefore it is important that members should secure seats for themselves and their friends without delay. Tickets, prices:—Boxes, grand tier (to hold ten), 30s.; loggia (to hold eight), 21s.; second tier (to hold five), 12s. 6d.; amphitheatre stalls, 2s. 6d.; arena (blocks B., C., D., and E.), 1s. (only a few left); balcony, first six rows, 1s., two back rows, 6d. (all numbered and reserved); upper orchestra (unnumbered), 6d., may be obtained from the Ticket Secretary, W.S.P.U., 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

"Votes for Women."

The paper throughout August will be full of interesting matter. Besides the usual political articles, it will contain many contributions from well-known writers, including Mr. Israel Zangwill, Mrs. Stepney Rawson, Mr. Pett Ridge, Mr. Henry Nevins, and others too numerous to name. In next week's issue we hope to publish a story called "Mr. Jones and the Govern-ess," by G. Colmore, whose novel, "Suffragette Sally," is so well known among our readers; also a sketch by Mrs. Ayrton-Zangwill, called "My Little Lovers," and the first of two articles on "Women and the Law of Divorce," by Mr. H. Musk Beattie. It will be wise to order this number of the paper early.

Articles and News contributed for insertion in **VOTES FOR WOMEN** should be sent to The Editors, **VOTES FOR WOMEN**, 4, Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C., at the earliest possible date, and in no case later than first post Monday morning prior to the publication of the paper.

The Editors cannot hold themselves in any way responsible for the return of unused manuscripts, though they will endeavour as far as possible to return them when requested (if stamps for postage are enclosed).

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A CLUB is being formed and will be opened in September for men and women interested in Women's Suffrage. The premises will be in a central position, and will have bedrooms (for lady members, at a reasonable price), dining, reading, writing rooms, and lounge.

Receptions and lectures dealing with the Suffrage question will be held during the winter months.

The club being a proprietary one, members incur no liability whatever other than subscription and entrance if any. Subscription for first 200 members, £1 1s., and no entrance. A competent secretary has been engaged, with 8 years' experience of Club management. Further particulars, Box 102, **VOTES FOR WOMEN**, 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

The Women's Social and Political Union.

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VOTES FOR WOMEN

4, CLEMENT'S INN, STRAND.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 9, 1912

PLAIN WORDS TO CRITICS

"We reprobate in the strongest way lawlessness and outrage on every ground. Conduct involving such methods is in this country not only a crime but a blunder.

(Signed) ALFRED LYTTELTON, M.P.,

ROBERT CECIL, M.P.,

J. T. AGG GARDNER, M.P.,

W. MITCHELL THOMSON, M.P."

We hasten to explain that this is not a remonstrance addressed by discontented Unionist M.P.'s to their leader, Mr. Bonar Law. It is an extract from the letter condemning the use of militant methods in connection with the cause of Woman Suffrage.

Nevertheless, we confidently expect that Mr. Alfred Lyttelton, Lord Robert Cecil, and the two other Unionist M.P.'s will write to Mr. Bonar Law to rebuke him for the crime of pursuing a policy of lawlessness and outrage in resistance to Home Rule. For if lawlessness and outrage are a crime when counselled or committed by Suffragists, they are equally a crime when counselled or committed by Mr. Bonar Law.

Mr. Bonar Law has spoken more recklessly and violently than the Suffragist leaders have ever spoken. Here are his words:—

We shall use every means, whatever means seem to us likely to be most effective. I say now, with a full sense of the responsibility which attaches to my position, that if the attempt be made under present conditions, I can imagine no length of resistance to which Ulster will go which I shall not be ready to support.

Mr. Bonar Law's publicly expressed conviction is that it is the right and the duty of the minority of the Irish people to resist Home Rule by force. What has Mr. Alfred Lyttelton to say to this? What has

Lord Robert Cecil to say to it? Mr. Bonar Law has invited them and all other Unionists to express their opinion of his militant policy. He has challenged them to say whether or no in view of this policy they still accept his leadership. Said he, referring to his advocacy of violent resistance to Home Rule:—

I thoroughly realised the seriousness of what I was doing, and I realised it for this reason: I thought it quite possible that many of my own supporters in this House might think that I was going too far. I felt that, holding the views which I do hold, I was bound to express them. But something more follows. If I had found that there was any considerable number of my supporters in this House, or of the party outside, who disapproved of what I had said, I should have considered that in such a crisis I was not a suitable leader for the party, and I should have resigned the position I hold. I have as good means as most people of finding out what the opinion of the Unionist party in this house is. I have seen no sign that there is a member of the party who does not endorse every word I say.

What response have Mr. Lyttelton and Lord Robert Cecil to make to this challenge? Have they the courage of their convictions, and will they say to Mr. Bonar Law, as they have said to the Women's Social and Political Union, that they regard the policy of violence as a criminal one? Will they, as he invites them to do if they think right, tell Mr. Bonar Law that he is no fit leader for the Unionist Party?

One thing is plain. If Mr. Lyttelton and Lord Robert Cecil decide to condone and to accept Mr. Bonar Law's policy of violence and lawlessness they will be in honour bound to withdraw their criticism of the actions and policy of militant Suffragists.

It would be quite idle and altogether untrue for these two gentlemen to argue, and indeed we are sure they will not do so, that women possess a means alternative to that of violence of attaining their object, while the opponents of Home Rule do not. Every justification offered for violent resistance to Home Rule is a justification doubly strong for Suffragist militancy. If, as Unionists argue, the Constitution provides no effective means of combating Home Rule, it is even more true that it provides no weapon for voteless women. It is urged that Suffragists ought not to be militant because the Government have provided them with an "opportunity"; that "opportunity" is of a character so deceptive and so worthless that it is in itself a distinct provocation to militancy.

The Prime Minister tells Mr. Bonar Law that violent resistance to Home Rule is unjustified, because safeguards have already been offered to Ulster, and more safeguards will be provided if those already offered are not enough. These safeguards, however inadequate Unionists may think them, are undoubtedly far more tangible and real than the "opportunity" offered to Suffragists. Yet Mr. Bonar Law repudiates them with contempt, and will not be turned aside from his violent and lawless policy.

To sum up the whole matter, no one who is a supporter and follower of Mr. Bonar Law has any right to breathe a word of criticism of the militant Suffragists.

The fact is that our critics, whether Unionists or not, are really arguing not against militancy as such, but against militancy for women. They deny to women the human right to fight for liberty. Thus among the women who signed the remonstrance to her militant sisters is one whose husband, apparently with her approval, has volunteered as a soldier in the Ulster Civil War. We find another woman who approved bloodshed in the cause of votes for men declaring that all forms of violence, even the mildest, are morally wrong when done in the cause of Votes for Women. We have men of progressive views who are passionately in sympathy with rebels of their own sex in China, in Russia, in Turkey, in Persia, who detest, with an ugly passion just as strong, the uprising of women against political injustice.

Where the rights of men are at stake everyone admits that subjection is more hateful than violence, and that liberty is more to be desired than peace. It is only when the rights of women are at stake that these great truths are denied.

SONS OF WOMEN VOTERS

To Rebel Women from a More Fortunate Sister

By Gertrude Lucie Burke

I can claim no originality for my opinions about the woman's question in England. Among all of us Australians who see much of the Mother Land there is a wonderful unanimity on this point. Whenever we are inclined to believe that absence may make us idealise our own country, we have only to meet a newcomer and listen to his or her indignant comments on the degraded position of Englishwomen.

Only one who has lived in both countries can thoroughly realise the inferior status of women in England. To the typical Australian who has grown up in a broader, more modern atmosphere, the stock arguments of the "antis" appear a quaint perversion of ideas that prevailed in a lower stage of civilisation. However learned or eminent the "anti" may be, the effect produced on our minds is just the same. The Australian woman marvels chiefly that male "antis" should speak of women in terms that are a direct insult to their own wives and mothers. The Australian man wonders at the woman "anti" who meekly repeats these insults and looks on them as her chief glory. I know many Australians who in their own country accepted woman suffrage with an unquestioning spirit, just as they accepted trial by jury and other institutions. In England they have been converted by the arguments of the "antis" into firm believers in the moral necessity for Woman Suffrage. For my own part, I should like to place on record the debt of gratitude I owe to "antis" of each sex and of every station. They have taught me to value my privileges and my responsibilities as I never could have valued them had I lived always in a country where the "anti" has passed away like the pleisiosaurus and other creatures whose days of usefulness are over.

Even the "anti" who spends her life denouncing her fellow-women from a public platform must agree that one of the chief duties of women is to train the coming generation. The Australian boy has been moulded by that unnatural abomination, the female voter! Yet, strange to say, he shows no signs of the degeneracy that might be expected. In resourcefulness, independence, and initiative he is far superior to the English lad. He is more high-spirited, but his spirits do not find an outlet in "ragging" and the various other conventional forms of rowdiness that an English gentlewoman tolerates in her son. The Australian mother has different ideals, and expects the same standard of civilised behaviour from her sons as from her daughters. She would also consider it a terrible disgrace for her son to get into debt at school or at the University. Such an occurrence is so rare as to be practically unknown.

The Young Australian

The young Australian is much less thoughtless and selfish than the English youth. He understands the rule of give and take, whereas his English cousin has been brought up to practise only the latter where his women relatives are concerned. In the average family it is the rule for the grown sons to pay their share of the household expenses. Unless the parents are wealthy, many of them voluntarily continue this practice even when they are living away from home. Besides that, many a young Australian denies himself pleasures in order to give a younger brother or sister a good start in the world. He does this as a mere matter of course, and such an action is not held to be extraordinary virtue on his part. Some of our coming men and women have owed their chance in life to the generosity of an elder brother. At the present moment I can think of instances of boys being sent to good schools, of girls being kept at the University or being helped through some course of technical training by brothers who, if they were Englishmen, would merely spend their time selfishly bemoaning their own hard lot and their poverty. In a few years these young men will marry, and the self-denial they have practised in the meantime will certainly not make them worse husbands.

Quite unconsciously the Australian mother has always brought up her boys to practise part of the Scout Law. Helpfulness to others finds plenty of scope in the understaffed or servantless Australian home. The Australian boy would not consider it manly to sit by idly or to play his games while his mother and sisters were toiling over the housework. It is quite natural that he should come into the kitchen and do his share. I know boys who, in addition to being brilliant scholars, good footballers, or fine rifle shots, would also be capable of taking places as kitchen maids at a moment's notice. It does not startle us to find a boy who can serve a dainty, well-cooked breakfast—till we have seen something of middle-class English homes and selfish young Englishmen. I know one young man, an athlete, a dandy, and a typical Australian, who has often in times of domestic upheaval turned out his own room as efficiently as any housemaid. As he would say in the characteristic Australian phrase, he does not consider it "a fair thing" that his mother and sisters, in addition to their ordinary occupations, should perform quite unaided an amount of manual labour which in his opinion belongs no more essentially to their sphere than to his.

One day lately at a Suffrage meeting I listened to the speech of an Australian man. Through all his arguments ran one dominant appeal, the appeal which we fondly think must be irresistible, to men of all countries. As he pleaded, "Do the fair thing, you Englishmen," I fancied myself back in Australia, where fairness and loyalty between man and woman are as universal as fairness and loyalty between man and man. We who have been trained under different ideals can have little respect for the Englishman, for from the cradle to the grave he is occupied in not doing "the fair thing" to women. My Australian friend might have been addressing his hearers in a foreign tongue; his appeals were received with puzzled wonder in the land which used to brag of its British fair play. The Englishman is scrupulously fair when he is playing the all-important game of golf or football. When he is playing the game of life, if his opponent is a woman he is consistently, sanctimoniously, and hypocritically unfair. He could learn many a lesson in justice and manliness from the sons, brothers, and husbands of the Australian women voters.

Educational Advantages

But these Australian men have had educational advantages that are denied to Englishmen. Whether their parents were rich or poor, cultured or ignorant, they had a training that Eton and Harrow cannot give. For they grew up in a free Australian home, where brother and sister are equal, where good things and bad are shared by men and women alike. There a woman is not shoved aside into a corner or requested to mount a draughty, cold, uncomfortable pedestal; she fights the battle of life and enjoys the happiness that life can give, side by side with her men folk, who are her equals, her loyal comrades, and her friends.

There are still some contented women in England; we have all met a few of them. In this generation content in an Englishwoman is a humiliating and ignoble attitude. Such people would be happy in a Turkish harem or in a Zulu kraal. The vote which our Australian men gave us freely and which the women of England will win to-morrow is the most significant symbol of the status of woman and the respect that is felt for womanhood. We gained the vote easily because our position was already infinitely superior to that of Englishwomen. The thing goes round in a vicious circle in this country. Women have not yet been able to force men to acknowledge their rights because their position is not strong enough; and till they are recognised as citizens their position cannot improve appreciably. In Australia we have learned the lesson of all the ages, which teaches that by its women as much as by its men a country must rise or fall. Because we, your kinsfolk beyond the seas, love the Motherland in spite of all her failings and weaknesses, we long for the day when she shall enjoy the justice and freedom that reigns in Australia.

To an Australian who studies English politics, English social and commercial life, and conventional English ideas there often comes a feeling of deep despair. In our far-off homes we have learned from childhood to reverence all that is great and noble in the traditions and history of our race. We have been taught that we owe our Constitution and all our rights and privileges as citizens to the watchful care in far-distant times of that ancient Assembly that was once called the Mother of Parliaments. Now we see dishonourable politicians elected by voters whose ears are dumb to the cry for justice that has often roused their fathers in the past. We hear of barbarities and cruelties practised in the name of law in the land which was once a model to less enlightened nations. In the country from which ships once went forth to suppress the traffic of the slave-trader, in the country which, through the mouth of Wilberforce, once taught a great lesson to the world, we see the modern slave-traders plying a traffic more horrible than that of the Spanish buccaneers; we see English girls being sold into slavery more hopeless and more cruel than the ancient world ever knew; and we see the representatives of England and their rulers, the male electors, looking on and making light of these hideous practices. We see a country that puts party before patriotism, a nation that is divided against itself, filled with bitterness and hate and not with high ideas and hope. We see a great apathetic mob that governs England, and that would force Englishwomen to accept the status of aliens. We see the noblest women in the land treated with dull, unimaginative brutality by "gentlemen" and hooligans alike. And we Australians, whose destiny is so closely bound up with that of the Motherland, wonder whether the might of England is passing away, whether, like Imperial Rome, she has had her day.

Then we look at the other side of the picture and take courage once more. We meet a woman who has sacrificed friends and social position to give her life to the woman's cause. We meet another, a hunger-striker, who has faced death and lost health for conscience' sake, a woman of the heroic mould, one who in days gone by would have faced the lions, the thumbscrew, and the rack as cheerfully as she has faced the tender mercies of Mr. McKenna. We hear the message sent on his way to gaol by a divinity student to the women whose battle he is fighting, "Keep the ball rolling." Then, because there are many such women and a few such men in England to-day, we say to one another, "The old heroic spirit is not extinct, the stern old virtues are living still. England is not dead; she is only sleeping, and must soon awake. For as long as there are such martyrs in the cause of womanhood there is plenty of backbone in the Old Country still."



In this column we propose, during the holiday season, when VOTES FOR WOMEN touches a new circle of readers, to answer some of the questions that present themselves to the minds of those not yet convinced of the urgency of Woman Suffrage.

Question 2.—What has militancy done for the cause of Votes for Women?

Answer.—Before the Women's Social and Political Union adopted militant methods in October, 1905, the public was quite indifferent on the subject of Votes for Women, politicians treated it as a joke, and no news of the movement ever appeared in the papers. Since then there have been over 1,000 imprisonments of women (the very great majority of these for the offence of trying to obtain access to the Prime Minister in the House of Commons), the movement has spread all over the civilised world, and Votes for Women has become the most widely discussed topic of the day. The question is no longer, "Shall Women have the Vote?" but rather, "In what form shall it be given to them?" People may be angered by militant methods, but they can no longer ignore them or the cause in whose name they are waged. Since militancy was started, the largest Hyde Park Demonstration and the longest procession ever held with a political object have been organised by the W.S.P.U. in favour of Woman Suffrage; and no other political question of to-day arouses so much feeling, or has been responsible for so much self-sacrifice and suffering on the part of its supporters. Militancy has made Votes for Women a living question; that is what militancy has done.

Question 3.—Seeing that so many people dislike militancy, would it not be better to try other methods that would not alienate supporters?

Answer.—Everybody dislikes war—as such; but no one is prepared to say that the world has yet reached that point in its development when war can be dispensed with just because people do not like war. Nobody likes militancy, least of all those who carry it on; like war, it was only adopted when every peaceable method of settling the question in dispute had been tried and had failed, and it will only be persisted in so long as the Government refuses to make peace with the women by giving them the Vote. It is true that some people allege dislike of militancy as their reason for withholding support from the cause of Woman Suffrage; but those people are not Suffragists, they are Anti-Suffragists who, not having the courage of their opinions, seize upon any pretext that will serve to conceal their reactionary propensities. There are no other methods to be tried that were not tried for forty years, without avail, before militancy was adopted.

Question 4.—Even if militancy be expedient, is it right?

Answer.—The women who are engaged in this fight are convinced that the terrible social evils of the day will never be effectually tackled and reformed until the woman's point of view counts as much in the State as the man's, and further, that this will not be the case until women are enfranchised on equal terms with men and have the same power to influence legislation. Now, if a woman saw a young girl in the clutches of a White Slave Trader, or a sweated worker dying of starvation, or a baby being murdered, and a bolted window stood between her and any one of those wretched victims of our social system, she would be a poor sort of creature if her law-abiding instincts kept her from breaking that window and going to the rescue. How much more justified is she in employing force of this kind in order to compel attention to her voteless condition which now stops her from going to the rescue of many thousands of victims of the White Slave Trade, of the Sweated Industries, of Infantile Mortality!

Question 5.—Militancy may be both expedient and right; but is it ladylike?

Answer.—No; it is not ladylike. The members of the Women's Social and Political Union think it is more important to commit breaches of manners, if necessary, in their fight to redress the wrongs of women, than to trouble about being ladylike.

In the answer to Question 2, in this column last week, line 14, for "married women," read "married women and widows."

ACTION AGAINST THE LEADERS

County Court Case

Mrs. Pankhurst, Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and Mrs. Tuke were defendants in an action at Westminster County Court on Monday, July 29, in which Mr. Jules Richard, camera maker, of New Bond Street, sought to recover from them the sum of £15, the amount of damage to his shop window in the Suffragist raid of March 1.

Mr. Ernest Charles (instructed by Messrs. Amery, Parkes, and Co.) said he represented the plaintiff, who was the owner of a shop window which was broken by one Catherine Swain, in pursuance of and in consequence of a conspiracy. He did not proceed with the action as against Mrs. Tuke.

Judge Woodfall: Service is doubtful with reference to the defendant Miss Christabel Pankhurst.

Mr. Charles: I do not proceed against her for that reason. I do not know if the other three defendants are represented.

Judge Woodfall: Are they released?

Mr. Charles said that Mrs. Pankhurst was in Switzerland, and the Lawrences were at Folkestone. He would shortly prove damages, and the conspiracy upon which the claim rested. He had expected defendants to appear, and had a number of witnesses to prove the conspiracy, for which the three defendants were convicted, but, as they did not appear, he would be able considerably to reduce the amount of evidence. A great deal of the conspiracy depended upon documentary evidence. Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence jointly edited *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, copies of which would be produced, and he had detectives present with shorthand notes of speeches by Mrs. Pankhurst. The periodical, a file of which he would put in, contained perpetual incitements to violence, including the particular form employed in this case.

Women went out with hammers and broke windows, were arrested, Mr. Pethick Lawrence became surety for them, and they were tried and convicted. There was a register of "martyrs to the cause" kept by the union, and it included the name of Miss Swain. The first outbreak was approved in the paper, and volunteers called for the "next protest." Mrs. Pankhurst referred to one outbreak as "a preliminary skirmish in which some of the bold and bad ones will be concerned." Miss Swain was in that "skirmish," and had been subpoenaed to give evidence in this case, but he did not see her in court. From articles and speeches it was clear that the window-smashing was illegal.

Judge Woodfall: You must connect defendants with the extracts from the paper before you make them evidence.

Mr. George Hart, manager of St. Clement's Press, Portugal Street, deposed that his firm printed *VOTES FOR WOMEN* under a contract with Mr. Lawrence, who paid for the printing by cheque. The publication was delivered to the offices of the union. Blank spaces in the copies produced showed where articles should have appeared, but he refused to print them on the ground that they were inflammatory. His firm printed the handbill produced, about broken windows.

Judge Woodfall: How do you connect Catherine Swain with the conspiracy?

Mr. Charles drew attention to documents produced by a witness from the office of the Public Prosecutor, including directions signed by Mrs. Pankhurst as to bailing out of prisoners.

Chief Inspector McCarthy gave evidence that Mr. Lawrence became surety for Miss Swain when she was admitted to bail.

Formal evidence was also given as to Miss Swain breaking the window and its value.

Mr. Charles, asked against whom he sought judgment, said it was the Northern Plate Glass Insurance Company behind the plaintiff, and the union had been sued as well as the three defendants. He thought it would save time to take judgment against the three defendants, as it would mean a considerable time to go into the matter as regarded the union.

His honour entered judgment for the plaintiff for £15, and costs, against Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence and Mrs. Pankhurst.

We understand that a writ has been served on Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence

for damages for injury to a large number of shop windows in March last. Mrs. Pankhurst and Miss Christabel Pankhurst are also included in the writ, but have not yet been served. The case is to be heard in the High Court, and will probably come on in October. The defendants will be represented by Counsel.

BY-ELECTION NEWS

NORTH-WEST MANCHESTER.

Polling, Thursday, August 7.

CANDIDATES.

Mr. Gordon Hewart (L.)
Sir John Randles (C.)

In charge: Miss Sylvia Pankhurst.

W.S.P.U. Committee Rooms: 25, Cheetham Hill Road.
Result in December, 1910—Sir G. Kemp (L.) 5,559; A. Bonar Law (C.) 5,114; L. Maj. 445.

Polling took place on Thursday after we went to press. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst writes:—

Manchester, Monday.

In no election has one found a clearer understanding of the Women's Social and Political Union anti-Government by-election policy than in North-West Manchester. Whenever anyone in the crowd asks: "Why do you work against Mr. Gordon Hewart when he is in favour of votes for women?" or "Do you think the Tories are any more in favour?" many voices from the audience are always ready to explain that the Liberal candidate is attacked, not as an individual, but as the nominee of a Government that refuses to give votes to women, and to add that the Suffragettes do not mean to wait to see what the Tories will do for them, but intend by their tactics to wring their enfranchisement from the Government now in power.

Excellent meetings have been held in the dinner-hour at Stevenson's Square, at Scholes Street, Shude Hill, for the buyers and sellers in the market, at Fennel Street for business men, at the Assize Courts for the workers in the cap and cabinet-makers near-by, and at numbers of other places. Evening meetings in the open-air have, of course, been held all over the constituency. Hall meetings, which have all been enthusiastic and well attended, have been held at St. John's School, Elm Street, and the Confectioner's Hall, Swan Street, on Saturday, and the Bijou Music-Hall, Cheetham Hill Road, on Sunday.

An At Home for members and friends was also held in the Onward Buildings, Deansgate, on Sunday evening.

On Tuesday evening we are to hold a meeting in the Cheetham Public Hall, and a meeting for business men is to be held at three o'clock on Wednesday afternoon in the Coal Exchange.

The great event of the election is to be the Women's Procession on Wednesday evening, the eve of the poll. In preparation for this, a women's meeting will be held in the Holdsworth Hall, Deansgate, at 5.30 p.m. At 7 p.m., the procession will form up in St. Marysgate near by and will march via Peter's Street, Albert Square, Cross Street, and Market Street to Piccadilly, where a mass meeting will take place at 8 p.m.

Miss Evelyn Billing, Miss Jarvis, Mrs. Archdale, Dr. Jones, Miss Adela Pankhurst, Miss Douglas Smith, Mrs. Brailsford, Miss Leonora Tyson, Miss Marie Naylor, Miss Burke, and Dr. Helen Hanson have, as well as Miss K. Wallwork and other local friends, all rendered good service in the election.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY

At present ("Nineteenth Century") the chief servants of the Crown form one body. They are understood to be on terms of friendly confidence with each other, and to agree as to the main principles on which the executive administration ought to be conducted. If a slight difference of opinion arises among them it is easily compromised, but if one of them differs from the rest on a vital point it is his duty to resign. While he retains his office he is held responsible even for steps which he has tried to dissuade his colleagues from taking.—From "Macaulay's History," chapter on James II.

'ANDSOME IS AS 'ANDSOME DOES!

The supreme consideration of every Government must be the well-being of the people as a whole.—Mr. Lloyd George, in "The Nation."

CABINET MINISTERS' HOLIDAYS

Where Are They Going To?

The *Observer*, after remarking on the unusual secrecy to be maintained this year as to the movements of Cabinet Ministers during their summer holidays, proceeds blandly to give its own version (or shall we say a carefully inspired version?) of where these are to be spent. "Mr. Asquith," says the *Observer*—

"Is too conspicuous a figure to escape publicity wherever he may be, and so it is merely anticipating the inevitable to make known the fact that he will be the guest of Mr. F. Tennant, a brother of Mrs. Asquith, at Dallas Lodge, Morayshire, near Elgin. Dallas Lodge is a lovely place amid heather-clad moors."

"Although the Chancellor of the Exchequer is not making his holiday arrangements public it is more than probable that he will stay for some weeks of the recess at Sanquhar House, Forres. He will therefore be within reach of the Prime Minister."

"Mr. Harcourt's unpleasant experience at Nuneham will not keep him away from his beautiful house and exquisite grounds, and Sir Edward Grey will pursue his favourite recreation and handle the rod at Berwick and in Scotland."

"Mr. Churchill is to be at Rest Harrow, Mr. Astor's place at Sandwick."

"Several members of the Government have not decided yet, but Mr. Birrell will probably spend most of his vacation in Ireland. Dr. Macnamara is an enthusiastic golfer and has decided to visit Sutton-on-Sea, Lincolnshire, in search of his favourite game."

It is interesting news that the Chancellor of the Exchequer will be "within reach of the Prime Minister" (presumably in case of need), though according to varying Press announcements he will have to come, when summoned, simultaneously from Forres, from Frinton-on-Sea, and from Canada. However, no doubt a triple police escort can be arranged so that he may, with the help of a good disguise, perhaps accomplish the journey undetected. The name of the house at which Mr. Churchill is to spend his holiday augurs well for him; but how is he going to be in Canada and at "Rest Harrow" Sandwich? The distance between these two is considerably greater

than—shall we say?—that between the two sides of the House of Commons.

Who is Going to Canada?

On August 2, the following cryptic statement appeared in the *Standard*:—

"Reuter's Agency understands that up to yesterday evening nothing had been settled with regard to the suggested visit of British Cabinet Ministers to Canada. It is not known what Ministers will go, by what means they will travel, or even if any will go at all. On the other hand, inquiries in Canadian quarters show that while there is a disinclination to discuss the matter, the Canadian Ministers have on more than one occasion informally expressed the pleasure that would be afforded by the British Ministers visiting Canada. The impression gathered in these quarters, in the absence of definite information, is that Mr. Churchill may be able to make a short trip, but that Mr. Asquith may find it impossible to leave England. At the same time it must be repeated that officially nothing of a definite character is known." (The italics are ours.)

The *Times* then brought its clear-sighted point of view to bear upon the problem, as follows:—

"It is understood that a special invitation to visit Canada has now been extended on behalf of the Canadian Government to the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Secretary of State for War. It is not yet known whether Mr. Harcourt or Colonel Seely will be able to accept this invitation. It is regarded as probable in well-informed circles that Mr. Churchill will visit Canada in the course of the autumn, but that the Prime Minister will not be able to do so."

The following lucid explanation was next furnished by the *Morning Post*:—

"It is understood that Mr. Asquith finds it impossible to visit Canada during the Parliamentary recess, but it is more than probable that Mr. Churchill may go. The matter will be definitely decided next week. At a meeting of University students at Cambridge yesterday addressed by Lord Strathcona, Mr. Howard Marsh (Master of Downing College) stated that it had been definitely decided that Mr. Churchill would go to Canada."

After all, how many were going to St. Ives?

HOW THEY WILL GET AWAY



The rising of Parliament this week is not likely to be preceded by the usual announcement of the places chosen by leading politicians—especially Cabinet Ministers—for their holidays. The fact is yet another indication of the terrorism which the militant Suffragettes exercise over the Ministerial mind.—*The Observer*.

MR. ASQ. . TH (nervously): Have we, oh, have we eluded them?

CHORUS OF DISGUISED CABINET MINISTERS: Not much, 'Erb!

THE SUFFRAGETTES AGAIN TO BLAME

The Suffragettes have another weight on their consciences. The hall porter of No. 10, Downing Street, is retiring because he cannot longer endure the stress, strain, and extra vigilance which their cantrips have brought on him. He is a tall, portly old man named Garland, who came to "No. 10" with Lord Rosebery after he had served twenty-six years in the Metropolitan Police. In the ordinary course of things he would have continued for years yet to serve as the buffer between "No. 10" and the curiosity of the world. But Suffragettes are too much for him.—*Hull Daily News*.

WAIT AND SEE!

Mr. Asquith, according to the *Daily Mail*, is going to Canada in a battleship. This is becoming the Premier's favourite method of travelling. It has not yet occurred to a Suffragette to disguise herself as an Admiral.—*Punch*.

To a certain extent Scotland Yard may be said to be suffering at the present moment from an attack of nerves. That is not surprising, for the militant women have succeeded in concealing their intentions on some important occasions with much ingenuity, and the police in recent proceedings have come into possession of certain information which makes their anxiety quite justifiable.—*Leicester Daily Post*.

"Suffragettes on the Stock Exchange!" It would make a fine headline, and Suffragettes are now being quoted in Capel Court and Throgmorton Street. . . . The "A" shares of the London General Omnibus Company are called the "Suffragettes" on the Stock Exchange. The reason is that at meetings of the company the holders of these shares have no votes.—*The Daily Chronicle*.

HOME OFFICE ARRAIGNED ONCE MORE

Mr. George Lansbury Asks for a Committee to Consider Forcible Feeding

"Does the House of Commons Want This Thing to Go On or Not?"

On the Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill on Monday last, Mr. Lansbury raised the question of Home Office administration with regard to the Suffragists in prison. He said:—

I wish to call attention to several matters connected with Home Office administration. First of all, I want to direct the attention of the House to the fact that forcible feeding has gone on since the debate in the House two or three weeks ago, and I want to ask the Home Secretary whether the time has not arrived when the Government should appoint some small or large Committee to consider the whole question. I take it that the House this afternoon, when we had that universal laugh at the statement that a woman had been discharged because she was hysterical after forcible feeding, did not display its real attitude. Whatever people's minds may be on the subject of forcible feeding, the fact remains that many of these women have had to be discharged not after continual forcible feeding but after only once being forcibly fed, and this proves that this is a very disagreeable, very dangerous, and, in the view of some people, and in my own view, a very disgusting process indeed. I do not believe the House realises that a very large number of eminent doctors have put it on record that forcible feeding under these circumstances is really dangerous to health and to life itself. . . . Most of the women, I am told—and they have all been examined by a most eminent physician—most of the women discharged as being liable to die or as being in a very weak state of health indeed owing to forcible feeding—had only been fed on one occasion, and the very woman [Miss Walters] about whom I asked a question this afternoon was, I understand, only fed, or attempted to be fed, twice; yet in the end she had to be discharged. I do not think the right hon. Gentleman meant to convey the idea that because she took her food properly, after being told she would be discharged, she fully recovered her health, for then there would be no reason for discharging her. I take it she was so discharged because it would have been dangerous to her life or reason to have kept her in prison.

"Is it not time . . . ?"

If that were an isolated case there might be something to be said for leaving the matter in the hands of the prison doctors. But I have in my pocket a series of statements, authenticated by some of the highest physicians in the country, who have examined women after they have been discharged from prison, and have unanimously declared that most of the cases are cases on similar lines to the one I have just mentioned. It seems to me that whatever case the Home Secretary may have for forcible feeding, there is no case for saying that he is forcibly feeding them for the purpose of preventing their determining their own sentences. Whatever other reason he may give, he cannot possibly give that as a reason, as over 60 per cent. of the women who have gone on hunger strikes have determined their own sentences, and have had to be discharged. Does the House of Commons want this kind of thing to go on or not? And is it not time we found a more excellent method of dealing with what, after all, is passive resistance, the strongest form of resistance that is possible in any community, the resistance of just standing or sitting still and absolutely refusing to do anything? Is it not time that the House asked the Home Secretary and the prison authorities to find some better method of dealing with these women?

I want to re-emphasise the point that you gain nothing by this method. If at the end you could show that it kept all these women in prison, there would be something to be said for it from the penal point of view, but you do not succeed in doing that. The medical men who have advised the Home Secretary are of opinion that there is no danger in it. There must be danger in it, otherwise the women would not be discharged as they are being discharged. In practice it proves itself so dangerous that the women are bound to be discharged. The House ought to realise that it is not for fun that the women undergo, in some ways, untold misery both before and after this process. They are

doing it for the same principle for which every political prisoner has ever endured any kind of hardship in a prison. They do not want to be treated as criminals; they want to have the kind of treatment that you mete out to international political offenders.

It is of no use the Attorney-General saying, as he did on the last occasion, that there is no such thing as a political offender. We do recognise political offenders, and the fight the women are putting up is for the same recognition. Even if the Home Secretary does not appoint a Committee to inquire into what has been done, I hope that he will draft some rules so as to bring Rule 243a and the Rules concerning first-class misdemeanants into one, and treat all political offenders as first-class misdemeanants.

"I am still unsatisfied"

I have read over again the two letters of Lord Justice Coleridge with regard to the three prisoners who were convicted of conspiracy. I am still unsatisfied that there has not been differentiation in regard to prisoners. I am not going to say that the Home Secretary is the person who is altogether guilty. I do not know what happened outside this House, but I do know what happened with regard to Mr. Justice Coleridge. I know that in sentencing these women he made the statement contained in the letter read out by the Home Secretary, that had they expressed any contrition and promised not to offend again he would have put them in the first division. The second letter, which was written some days afterwards—after the agitation had taken place outside—put an entirely different construction upon that. I do not claim that I know the English language like a judge or a lawyer, but ordinary people reading his first letter and listening to his summing up were under the impression that he wanted to extract a promise from Mrs. Pankhurst and Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence that they would not undertake such an agitation again. That was whittled down finally to saying that if they promised not to carry on the agitation they would be treated as first-class misdemeanants, and they were so treated. I put it to the House that all the other women who were in prison were entitled to exactly the same treatment. Beyond that, I want to claim that those who are now in prison are entitled to that treatment. All people have not the privilege of knowing people in society, who can bring influence to bear upon either Ministers or judges.

[Here a point of order was raised.]

Mr. Lansbury: I do not think I was reflecting on the judges. The two letters I quoted are in the Official Report, and every statement I have made up to the present was made by the Home Secretary standing at that table. What I said—and I think I am entitled to say it—is that it is a most extraordinary thing that between the writing of the one letter and the writing of the second letter there was great agitation in the country. [In reply to the Deputy-Speaker.] If you will tell me what I have repeated that is out of order I am perfectly willing to withdraw it. I want to point out that between Lord Justice Coleridge's first letter and his second letter there was persistent agitation in the country.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member is making remarks reflecting upon one of His Majesty's judges. That I have already stated is out of order. I must ask him not to repeat it again.

Mr. Lansbury: Am I not entitled to take the two letters which have been used as an argument in defence of the Home Secretary's action and to argue upon those letters, and to point out to the House that there was persistent agitation in the country between the writing of the first letter and the writing of the second letter? Surely if that reflects upon the judge that is his business and not mine. I cannot help it if he should write two distinctly different letters.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I am sorry that the hon. Member wants me to repeat for the third time that he is out of order. I must ask him not to repeat it again.

Entirely Different

Mr. Lansbury: Am I not entitled to call attention to the two letters? Both of them are published in the Official Report. I remember that the words of the two letters are entirely different. That is all to which I want to call the attention of the House, and I leave the House and the country to draw their own conclusions from the two letters. I want further to say with regard to the other prisoners who have not got influence with Ministers or other people, that they are unable to get the privileges of Rule 243a. There is a great deal said in this House about equality of treatment. There is lying in one of His Majesty's prisons at the present moment a man convicted of an offence

connected with the suffrage agitation, and I contend that if a woman who commits a breach of the peace or an offence against the law under the same circumstances, is entitled to treatment under Rule 243a, the least we can ask is that the man Gray, who is at present in prison, should be treated in the same manner. I do not understand the distinction drawn between prisoners of one sex and the other, and between prisoners of one standing in society and prisoners of another standing in society. That this is so is perfectly evident to anyone who cares to read the evidence on the subject or who takes the trouble to find out why various people are imprisoned. I contend that all the prisoners convicted of offences in connection with that agitation should be treated in the same manner.

[Mr. Lansbury concluded with a reference to the Syndicalists and an appeal on behalf of the dock strikers and their families.]

MR. McKENNA'S REPLY

The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. McKenna), after alluding to other matters, said:—

Mr. Lansbury covered very wide ground, and raised several topics which have already been very fully debated in the House. First of all, in regard to forcible feeding, I am happy to be in a position to inform him that nobody is being forcibly fed at the present time. He asked for inquiry into the subject, on the ground that eminent doctors had declared that it was dangerous to health. He disputed my statement that in the practice of forcible feeding as now carried on all danger is avoided. My hon. friend must not quote me as having said that under no circumstances could there be danger in forcible feeding. As he rightly pointed out, such a statement could not be true, in the opinion of the Home Office. I frequently have advised the exercise of the prerogative, in order to release a prisoner to whom forcible feeding would be dangerous. The question is whether it would be dangerous, as carried on at the present time. The moment we are advised that there would be any serious danger, or permanent danger to health, and anything more than temporary inconvenience, the practice of forcible feeding is discontinued.

"I wish he would help me!"

My hon. friend says, cannot we devise some other method of dealing with these prisoners? I wish he would help me. He suggests that as these prisoners cannot be kept in prison under conditions of forcible feeding, and as therefore forcible feeding cannot be necessary, or cannot be practised, with the intention of compelling prisoners to remain in prison, therefore forcible feeding should be abandoned. It appears to me a very simple, logical process by which my hon. friend comes to that conclusion. But what would that mean? If forcible feeding is to be abandoned, and prisoners informed that in no circumstances will they be forcibly fed, then a prisoner has only to announce his intention not to take food, and he will be immediately released. That is the difficulty in which my hon. friend will be placed. Then as to the doctors who declare that forcible feeding should not be practised in the case of Suffragette prisoners, although it may properly be practised in the case of all other prisoners, the distinction is one I am unable to draw. If I am bound by law, as I am bound, in the administration of the penal code, to keep alive by any means in my power all such prisoners as are committed to the charge of the prison commissioners, [An Hon. Member: "Are you?"] I am not permitted by law to allow prisoners to starve themselves. It is the duty of the prison commissioners to see that prisoners do not starve themselves. If that duty is imposed on the prison commissioners, it is imposed as regards all prisoners alike.

Mr. Keir Hardie: Who were the doctors who said otherwise? Was it Sir Victor Horsley?

Mr. McKenna: A long correspondence has been entered into by certain doctors—and I think Sir Victor Horsley was one of them—who said that in their view, in the case of the Suffragette prisoners, forcible feeding should not be applied. I asked if they wished the same rule to apply to all prisoners, and they said that they made that statement with respect to the Suffragette prisoners, and did not wish it to apply to all prisoners, their reason being that the Suffragette prisoners were only imprisoned on account of certain actions resulting from their political beliefs. My own conclusion from that view is that no matter what breach of the law a Suffragette might be guilty of, if the prisoner declares her intention not to take food, she must be immediately released. There is no other solution that I can see. I regret that I am unable to give my hon. friend any assurance whatever that these prisoners who decline to take their food will not be dealt with as the law requires. Then he asks that Rule 243a should be approximated to the conditions of the first division. I would rather put it that it might be an advantage if the conditions of

prison life in the first division were rendered more severe, and were brought down to the level of the conditions allowed under Rule 243a. That is a matter to which the Prison Commissioners are giving their attention at present, and if it is thought desirable on a full examination of the case to make any change, I shall announce it to the House at the first opportunity. Then my hon. friend seemed to have in his mind that the social standing of the prisoners has something to do with their treatment in prison. I can assure him that he is under a complete delusion on that point. I personally have not the slightest idea of what the social standing is of any of the suffragette prisoners who are now in prison, or who have been in prison, and it never entered into my mind either to inquire or to consider what their social standing may be. The hon. Member thinks that the prisoners who were tried before Lord Justice Coleridge were put in the first division on account of their social standing. Nothing could be further from the thoughts of either of the judge or myself, and if it is not a matter to argue about it is because any suggestion that they were put into the first division for some occult reason is entirely without foundation. They were simply placed in the first division because the judge, as he stated in his letter to me, believed that he would have put them into the first division had the prisoners given him at the trial the assurance which they subsequently gave to me.

Mr. Lansbury: Is it a fact that the assurance which was asked for the first time differed entirely from that which was asked the second time?

Mr. McKenna: Yes, but the prisoners, through their agent, volunteered the statement to me as to the conditions on which they would act while in prison. I forwarded that statement to the judge, and the judge, in his letter, stated that although these conditions did not exactly fulfil his original terms, still, if the prisoners had given those pledges at the time of the trial, he would have placed them in the first division.

Mr. Lansbury: He never asked for those at the time.

Mr. McKenna: No. I am sure that my hon. friend wishes to be fair, but he is not quite clear on the point. Prisoners at the time of the trial stated that they would give no assurance, and subsequently they stated that they did not understand what it was that was asked of them. It was really a misunderstanding between the prisoners and the judge, and there was no point whatever in the suggestion that it had anything to do with the social standing of the prisoners. If it comes to a question of social standing of the prisoners, of those prisoners who were forcibly fed, Mrs. Pankhurst was not because her state of health would not allow it, but Mrs. Pethick Lawrence was forcibly fed, and so was Mr. Pethick Lawrence. There is nothing in the suggestion of my hon. friend on this point. Then he said that sex had something to do with it, and that the reason Mr. Gray was not receiving the benefit of Rule 243a is because he is a man. He is not receiving it because he was guilty of serious violence. The rule is not applied to persons who are guilty of serious violence. . . . Rule 243a does not apply as a right to anybody. It is a matter of discretion. The instructions given to prison authorities are that Rule 243a is to apply in the case of Suffragette prisoners and passive resisters, but in any other case in which the rule is applied for, application is to be made for instructions. It has been laid down as a general rule that in the case of Suffragette prisoners and passive resisters their cases are of a kind, provided they are not guilty of serious violence, to which the Rule 243a is to apply, but in all other cases special application must be made in order to consider whether the case is one in which the rule should be applied.

THE CASE OF MISS WALTERS

In reply to Mr. Lansbury, on Tuesday afternoon, the Home Secretary said: "This prisoner (Miss Alice Walters) was fed by tube once, having for forty-eight hours refused to take food. She resisted, and became hysterical, and her release was recommended on account of her nervous excitement. After the order for her release was notified to her she calmed down and took food. On her reception in prison she was described as being in fair physical health."

It was a courageous and earnest protest, in remarkable contrast to the Home Secretary's reply. All that Mr. McKenna could say was that if he were to announce that under no circumstances would prisoners be forcibly fed, every prisoner had only to refuse food to be immediately released. This sort of reply is hardly on the level of a suburban debating society, and is very far from answering the argument put forward by Mr. Lansbury. But there is an excuse for Mr. McKenna: he has to defend a case which is indefensible, and he is not too scrupulous in the methods he employs.—The Christian Commonwealth

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" HOLIDAY CAMPAIGN

Names continue to pour in from holiday-makers who are eager to take part in this year's Holiday Campaign, and to give up part of their time, at the seaside or in the country, to selling **VOTES FOR WOMEN**, advertising it, and extending its influence in every possible way. To know **VOTES FOR WOMEN** is to want to take it in regularly; so if the members of the W.S.P.U. will only make it known wherever they go this summer, the paper will do the rest, and the legend on Miss Hilda Dallas' poster—"VOTES FOR WOMEN Wanted Everywhere!"—will be true of every corner of the British Isles. They must not forget, however, to make sure on their return home that the new subscribers they have left behind them will have every facility for buying the paper they have learnt to know for the first time this summer. Newsagents must be interviewed and assured of the commercial gain to themselves involved in stocking the paper and displaying its weekly and pictorial posters. Where there is no newsagent the village shop or post-office should be approached with the same object; and if the locality does not boast even these, a local Suffragist should be found who is ready to turn paperseller and supply the paper weekly. In this connection it may be helpful to mention what Mrs. Elfrida Ionides has done to increase the circulation of **VOTES FOR WOMEN**. She says that her village, Hadlow, in Sussex, has no local newsagent, so she has paid the nearest one, who is at Thorpe, the price of six papers for five weeks, on the understanding that he is to send one copy to the Hadlow Reading Room, and sell as many of the others as he can, giving away the rest, if any are left, at the end of each week. She says that as a result of this scheme he has already got several new subscribers. In many cases new readers of the paper will probably be ready to take out a yearly subscription, and to have it supplied by post. The object of the Holiday Campaign is not only to bring **VOTES FOR WOMEN** to the notice of new readers, but to establish it permanently all over the country as the best political weekly, and the one that no intelligent man or woman can afford to do without.

Interesting accounts reach us of what was done on Bank Holiday in various places. The Hampstead W.S.P.U. made a brave show with their decorated cart on the Heath. "As we started in our cart, gay with bunting and posters, with flags flying in the wind," writes G. B., "we wondered, as we surveyed the crowds which from every conceivable direction were making for the same destination as ourselves, whether the wares we had to offer would prove as attractive to these folk as the bewildering varieties of gold chains, ticklers, walking sticks, paper caps, false moustaches, &c., offered for the same modest price as our paper. There was no doubt as to the warmth of our reception as we paraded up and down the Spaniards Road, finally taking up our stand by the Jack Straw's Castle. Not a dissentient voice was raised, and soon a large corps of papersellers, each with Miss Dallas' charming poster slung from her shoulder, were finding ready purchasers for their goods. Directly the meeting began a huge crowd swarmed from all directions. What a typical Bank Holiday crowd it was! Good-tempered, jolly, and absolutely sympathetic; numerous parents, with still more numerous children and bags of provisions, boys and girls out for a day's

sweethearting, foreigners and Colonials jostling up against North Countrymen and "Harriets"! A few riotous youths, adorned with paper caps, &c., each and all listened eagerly and quietly, with rapt attention, for an hour and a half to Miss Jenkins and Miss Greenwood, and seemed very disappointed when we left off. One must not forget the half-dozen ragged little urchins who persisted in reading **VOTES FOR WOMEN** seated in the bottom of our cart. At last, having practically exhausted our stock of papers we bade our audience farewell and drove away, leaving numerous little knots of people still discussing the subject."

From this account it will be seen how great an impetus to the discussion of Woman Suffrage paper-selling can be made. From Felixstowe, Miss Löwy writes that a decorated barrow stood on the sea front all day from which a brisk sale was carried on in papers, and also in sweets (for the children) made in the colours. Miss Williams and others sold the papers to the gay crowds at Colwyn Bay, also on Bank Holiday, and writes: "I think we made some converts, from the Anti, who finally waxed indignant at the idea of Manhood

well worth copying. Miss Markwick, on her arrival in Blackpool, found that Miss Yates had already set to work and had sold 400 copies of the paper there last week. Such large numbers of visitors go to Blackpool that Miss Markwick will be very glad to hear of W.S.P.U. members who will help her to sell the paper there. If they are not actually staying in Blackpool, they might perhaps go over there for a day at a time. The joy of a brisk sale would compensate them well for that amount of trouble.

From Woodbridge comes the following amusing account of paper-selling on market day:—

"Thursday is market-day in the small town of Woodbridge, so, being a guest in the neighbourhood, and mindful of our Holiday Campaign, I started off to sell the papers in the Market Place. I had no great hopes of much success as on the only occasion when I had been in Woodbridge I noticed that there seemed very few people about, and I expected great ignorance on the subject of Votes for Women. However, I was mistaken. Hardly had I established myself opposite the Shire Hall when an old man came up

Campaign when on their holiday. She will be glad to offer suggestions and to put them in touch, if requested, with other Suffragists in the same neighbourhood, and she will do the same for holiday-makers who have already left town and would like to give part of their time to the work, and will be delighted to hear from anyone who has amusing and interesting experiences when selling papers on her holidays. Leaflets to advertise the paper can be supplied free to members of the W.S.P.U., also bunting and decorations in the colours will be lent on application. Striking banners, 1s. 3d. each for one, or 1s. each for others ordered at the same time; and similar ones stencilled by hand at 1s. 6d. each, are on sale and will be sent if ordered of Mrs. Ayrton-Gould. Also the new picture poster, designed by Miss Hilda Dallas, price 3d. each for one, and 2d. each for others ordered at the same time. This should be displayed everywhere, from cottage windows to the most important stationers' shops. When the Leaders return to active work next autumn, let the first words that greet them be, on every side, "**VOTES FOR WOMEN**, wanted everywhere!"

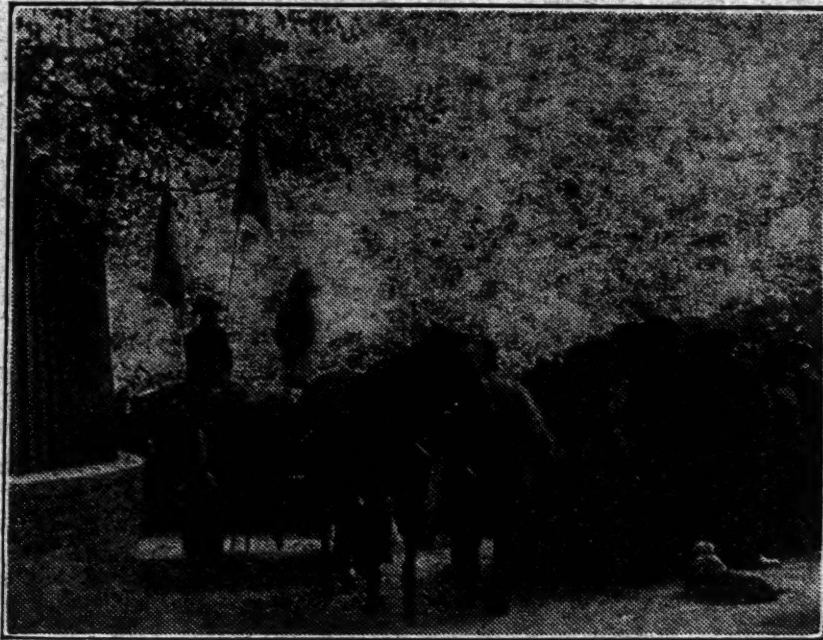
MISS ELSIE DUVAL

Miss Elsie Duval, who was released at the end of her one month's sentence last Saturday, was forcibly fed nine times, after fasting two days. The Hunger Strike was adopted by her together with Miss Marie Neill and Miss Walters as a protest against Mr. McKenna's refusal to recognise them as political offenders and to transfer them to the First Division. Miss Duval's account of her experiences endorses what has been said by other released prisoners who have suffered this painful and disgusting process. The tube hurt her extremely, especially when it was inserted by a doctor who was called in from outside to give the abominable treatment, and it seemed to her that he put it down too far. The resident medical officer was less rough and unskilful, and the prison officials were correspondingly less rough with her under his orders. She resisted to the utmost of her strength, and on one occasion heard the remark made, "I did not know that little thing could put up such a fight!" She felt very ill, and suffered internally the whole time, and on one occasion spit blood; her hands also swelled and turned quite blue, which so much alarmed the wardresses that they told the doctor about it. He attributed it to "a little wind round the heart," occasioned by the egg and milk diet! Although a week has passed since Miss Duval's release, and she has received the utmost care all the time, the doctor will not allow her to travel for another week, and her hands have not yet recovered their normal appearance.

This is the condition in which a political offender is released in the twentieth century! When will this Government learn that, however frail in appearance a Suffragette may be, for the sake of her principles—equal prison treatment with men political offenders—she will "put up such a fight" that, although it reduces her to a physical wreck, her resistance astonishes all those who persist in ignoring the spirit that lies behind the militant movement. Miss Elsie Duval has bravely and splendidly added to the sum of suffering which stands to the lasting shame of a Liberal Government, but to the lasting honour of the women who, like her, have preferred suffering to dishonour or sacrifice of principle.

MISS HELSBY

Miss Helsby, who was released from Shrewsbury Prison on July 29 after serving one month for throwing a hammer through the window of Ludlow Post Office, was accorded a welcome by her Suffragette friends at the Shrewsbury Labour Club. She was also presented with a memento in the shape of a small hammer, suitably inscribed.



On Hampstead Heath, Bank Holiday.

Suffrage and confessed that she was in favour of householders having the vote, to the old lady who bought a paper when her question, "Then you do not take life?" was satisfactorily answered." At Nottingham, on the same day, a very brisk sale of the paper took place outside the cricket ground, where an important match was being played—an excellent plan of campaign which might be imitated everywhere on other days as well.

All sorts of plans are being carried out elsewhere, some of them most ingenious. At Keswick, for instance, Miss Crook is planting a W.S.P.U. flag on the top of each of the four highest hills that are climbed by tourists; she also rides about on a decorated bicycle and sells many papers in that way both to villagers and to tourists. The decorated bicycle seems to play an important part in the Holiday Campaign this year. To take only two instances—Miss Salmon and a friend are going for a cycling tour through Kent, selling the paper as they go, while Miss Harding and an enterprising small brother are doing the same, their road taking them across Hampshire, from Totten to Salisbury and back again. Another member prefers to camp out, flying the **VOTES FOR WOMEN** banner over her tent. And perhaps the most original idea that has yet reached us is that of Miss K. Foster, who is advertising the paper at Swindon by making kites of the weekly poster, which are flown by small boys all over the surrounding country! This, too, is an idea

and asked me if I were "a real one," adding, "I mean, have you been took up?" and when I said "Yes," he bought two papers, one for a friend who was standing by but couldn't afford the penny. Then there was a man who was selling baskets, who entered into a long conversation on the excellence of the militant methods, and one of the shop-keepers in the Market Square bought, remarking that he "hoped it might save his windows." A farmer's wife (at least, I presume so) told me she always had the paper sent her every week, and read every word of it. The farmers in the Corn Exchange seemed rather shy about buying, and I was rather amused at one, who said he had been desired by some less courageous friends inside to get a paper for them.

"Altogether I was very satisfied with my first sale in Woodbridge. On my way back, in a very countrified lane, I came across a couple of bicycle tourists who had just spread their tea on the grass beside the road. I sold them a paper, and they seemed highly pleased and much astonished to find a Suffragette with papers in such an out of the way spot at such an opportune moment."

To conclude, let us remind our readers that before taking a holiday this year they should send a postcard to Mrs. Ayrton-Gould, W.S.P.U., 4, Clement's Inn, London, W.C., giving her their permanent and holiday addresses, the place and date of their stay, and saying whether they are prepared to give much or little time to the

"MILITANT TACTICS NOT UNNATURAL"

Opinions of Former Premier of Cape Colony

Under the above title, the Right Hon. W. P. Schreiner, former Premier of Cape Colony, delivered a remarkable speech last month on opening the Industrial Exhibition at Salt River, Cape Town. Not himself being in favour of militancy, he yet frankly declared that "These manifestations are not unnatural; they stand as warnings which we should heed of the fate which must befall those who set themselves against the oncoming tide of advancing democracy"; and he urged that it was false arguments which "have served to throw out a measure of partial redress of injustice; and by no better methods than a resort to cruelty equal to that of the medieval Inquisition." And the hon. gentleman logically exclaims: "The day is not distant when man will reject such arguments, revolt from such methods, free his conscience from the

burden of wrong-doing, and welcome his sister to full participation in her plain rights, so long withheld."

Alluding sympathetically to the recent Hunger Strike of the Suffragettes in England, Mr. Schreiner stated that "their cause was just"; and he maintained that, in this democratic era, when "the government of the people must be by the people, and for the people, to turn a deaf ear to the demand of the women is to persevere in the refusal of justice, a refusal which may for a time endure, but cannot finally prevail." After quoting the example of Pharaoh, he continued: "And so in our day we may see in power a statesman, professedly leading the forces of liberal and advanced thought, yet hardening his heart again and again to a demand which cannot much longer be withstood."

This eminent South African statesman clearly holds that giving the vote to women, and granting them their emanci-

pation, which he expects must shortly be effected in England, will assuredly tend towards the uplifting of both sexes and the truest welfare of the State.

"No one," he says, "can have followed the course of the debate in the House of Commons without noting how all the devices of special pleading, all possible use of mutually inconsistent reasons, have been brought into service in order to keep erect the walls of Jericho! Woman's cause is bound to triumph because of its inherent justice; because she herself has awakened to a sense of the urgent need of her aid in the right rule of the State; and because men are daily growing more and more convinced of the sincerity and purpose of her demand for recognition."

By the same mail which brought me notes of her brother's speech, I was honoured by a letter from Olive Schreiner, the Prophetess of the Woman's Cause. Writing from the borders of the mysterious desert, and the vast stretches of

her beloved, golden-hued karroo, the pathetic message of the gifted authoress of "Woman and Labour" will touch many an answering soul: "I'm very ill, dear friend, and can't work or do much any more. But my heart is deeply with you all." She goes on to survey the retrograde and decadent tone and tendencies of the time; to deplore all sordidness of aim, all lowering of the lofty ideals for which our humanitarian heroes lived, and struggled, and sacrificed themselves so nobly in our sacred past. With passionate loyalty to the long fight for justice, equality, and freedom, in loving enthusiasm she conjures up the glowing vision of Woman's Kingdom that is to be; and then, with a parting touch of genius, her delicate fingers leave their inspiring impress on a final chord of martial music: "I see Light and Hope always in your Militant Movement in England. Day will break over Humanity at last."

GEORGINA M. SOLOMON.

ARE WOMEN PART OF THE PUBLIC?

At Bow Street Police Court on Saturday, August 3, according to the Press, the magistrate requested all ladies to leave the court during the hearing of a certain case in which a woman was charged. The report adds that Miss Mary Blake, after first leaving the court, returned, and resumed her seat. Subsequently she was led outside, and refused to go away, and expressed her intention of re-entering as a protest against the exclusion of women during the hearing of a case against a woman. Miss Blake was then charged with "insulting behaviour, whereby a breach of the peace might have been caused."

The Magistrate (Sir A. de Rutzen) said: If you had any self-respect or decency you would not have returned into court when you knew the nature of the evidence being given and had heard my request for ladies to withdraw.

Miss Blake claimed the right for women to be present in court on the trial of women, whatever the nature of the case.

The Magistrate: Then all I can say is that you are a woman with an extraordinary taste. You will be bound over in £5 to be of good behaviour for six months.

We dealt with this point in *VOTES FOR WOMEN* some months ago (March 29), and a solicitor then kindly supplied us with the following notes on the steps necessary in the event of any of our readers deciding to carry this matter further. He says:—

A woman who wishes to establish her right as a member of the public to be present in the "public part" of the court, should be prepared with the following:—

A shorthand writer, preferably an "official shorthand writer," whose notes are never disputed. The object of a note is to prevent the magistrate going back on his decision, and to perpetuate his decision.

On being asked to leave the court, the woman should ask for a reason, in order to get a "judgment" on the subject, as the High Court will have to ask why she was turned out.

If the magistrate does not give a proper reason, and does not ask the public in general to go out, she should refuse to leave, and be removed out, without, however, resisting more than is necessary to make a protest.

Then the shorthand writer should transcribe his notes, and both should proceed to the High Court, where the application should be made to a King's Bench Judge (one mentioned in the daily cause list to hear application), and the reasons of the magistrate read out.

If unsuccessful, the protester repeats the same process in the Court of Appeal or House of Lords, reading the shorthand notes of the proceedings in each case.

Miss Blake writes to us as follows:—

To the Editors of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*.

Dear Editors,—You may have seen a notice in some of the daily papers of my protest against women being excluded from Bow Street Police Court when a woman was in the dock.

If evils exist such as were touched upon in that case, it seems to me women should be allowed to face them and to know how they are dealt with, because women must do their share in saving girls from an immoral life. Some of us feel acutely that we have no right to our comfortable ignorance while other women (possibly through no fault of their own in the first place) come to a hell on earth. Also I think no evidence, however filthy, can harm a pure-minded woman. It will pain her, perhaps more than men can guess at. But if it is necessary that such evidence should be given at all, women should be allowed to hear it, if they so desire, especially in view of the White Slave Traffic Bill, before the House of Commons, which, if carried through, is likely to prove hardly more effective than the present criminal law. We should know the worst, so that we can be quite sure that we are not too insistent in our cry that more should be done to exterminate these evils.

I cannot yet understand why it was more suitable for men to hear the evidence than women. I could have understood the position much better if all the public had been excluded. It was a woman (I heard afterwards she was only twenty-two) alone in a court of men. However bad she may have been, I felt that was wrong.

A word about my own case. I keenly appreciated the courtesy with which I was treated by everyone while I was detained,

but I felt when the charge was made out, and also when I was in the dock, that degradation was to be thrust upon me, if possible. By asking if I had "an interest in the house," the magistrate suggested that I might myself be tainted with immorality, and by putting down my protest to ignorance he indicated paltry motives. Did he ask himself what was really in my mind, I wonder? Does he ever make an attempt to fathom the psychology of prisoners? Are not their motives of any consequence? Do all prisoners feel that they are regarded as more degraded than they really are? I can well imagine their sensation of helplessness and despair, a sensation that may soon make them sink lower and lower.

My first visit to a police-court has given me plenty of food for thought.—Yours, &c.,
MARY BLAKE.

The following appeared in the *Daily News* on Wednesday:—

Sir,—I should like to be told under what law magistrates are empowered to order women out of court when any fellow creature is being tried, and when that fellow creature happens to be a woman I cannot believe that magistrates have any right whatever to exclude those of her own sex. If they have such a right, then we must see to it that they are deprived thereof. It is indeed "extraordinary taste" on the part of any man to desire to see a woman being cross-examined on the most intimate details before a room full of men, and without even the moral support she might derive from the knowledge that other women were present.

RUTH C. BENTINCK.

78, Harley Street, W.

Commenting on the incident the *Westminster Gazette* says:—

"We confess that we should much like to see the lawfulness of this decision (if it is rightly reported) challenged; unfortunately it belongs to a large class of summary proceedings in which at present no appeal exists; but it is conceived that a civil action would lie: in recent years two judges have had to settle actions (and pay damages) for the wrong of detaining unwilling people in court without just cause, and there seems no reason why unlawful expulsion from court of a person for whom there is room and whose conduct is orderly should not equally be actionable."

ORGANISED BRUTALITY

In a leaderette, the *Irish Independent* writes:—

"It has become necessary to make a protest against the persistent and disorderly interruptions of the Suffragist meetings in Dublin. Very few persons could be found to condone the acts of violence committed recently in this city by some of the Suffragettes. . . . Still they are as well entitled as any other section of the community to hold their meetings and air their views, however mistaken the majority of the people may consider them. The very fact that the Irish Suffragists are comparatively few in number ought to secure for them fair play, and it is certainly not in keeping with our traditional courtesy towards women to find their meetings interrupted and broken up by apparently organised gangs of men and youths."

In the same paper "H. P." writes:—
"On Friday, the 19th, an organised mob of young men joined themselves with the lowest criminals of both sexes in the city to brutally and murderously attack a handful of Irishwomen—mostly Catholic Nationalists. This organised mob, who are the same each time, and all of one class, has since attended every suffrage meeting in order to howl down the speakers and, unless restrained by the police, to physically ill-treat them. It is, most emphatically, not made up of the general public. In no city of the world have I heard of a mob of blackguards so cowardly as to confine its attacks to women. Orange violence pales before it—in Belfast men at least attack men."

Lord Mayor's View

Speaking at a meeting of the Mountjoy Ward Branch of the United Irish League, the Lord Mayor of Dublin said he thought that the interference with the meetings of the Suffragettes, which had taken place, was not a thing of which Irishmen ought to be proud, and it ought to be immediately stopped. (Hear, hear.) As they were struggling for freedom themselves they ought to be broad-minded and honest enough to allow a free expression of opinion to every section of the community. (Hear, hear.) It was not manly for Irishmen to interfere with women in addressing public meetings, and if they did not agree with them they should keep away from the meetings. (Applause.)

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KEEPING THEM IN MIND

SIR RUFUS ISAACS.

A long wait on the pavement, and at last the stately procession of Reading's officers, and Mayor, and neighbouring Mayors, going with the Recorder to open the new Police Court, arrived. Was it not right that a learned member of the Government whose conflicting policy on Women's Franchise is driving hundreds of good women through the English police-courts, should be appealed to about this? There on the threshold, recognising the Recorder, and forgetting aught else but one's duty, I stepped forward, face to face with him: "Oh, sir, why are you not more earnest about votes for women?" He looked at me, and went on in silence, whilst I was thrust backwards to the crowd.

E. R.

The *Standard* of Friday, August 1, says:—

"At Reading yesterday an attempt was made by a suffragist to molest Sir Rufus Isaacs on the occasion of the opening of the new Sessions House. The Attorney-General was walking in procession from the Town Hall accompanied by the Recorder. When opposite the entrance to the new Sessions House a woman dressed in brown made a dash at Sir Rufus and plucked him by the sleeve, saying, 'Votes for Women.' She got no further, for Detective Henderson, who had anticipated her movements, his suspicions having been aroused, took hold of the woman and pushed her into the crowd, and the Attorney-General passed into the building without further molestation. The suffragist was followed by a crowd until she disappeared in the direction of the railway station. It is believed she came from London."

MR. JOHN BURNS

Statesmanlike Manners!

The *Morning Advertiser* thus describes a Bank Holiday fête addressed by Mr. John Burns at Canford Manor:—

The political meeting was held in a large marquee, and Captain the Hon. F. E. Guest, M.P., took the chair in the unavoidable absence of Lord Ashby St. Ledgers. Several thousand persons crowded the canvas-covered area.

Mr. Burns, on rising, told the East Dorset Liberals that they were present to support their local member, Captain Guest, because he was a worthy member of the most progressive and popular Administration we had had in this country for the last 100 years.—(A Female Voice near one of the exits: "Not popular with the women, Mr. Burns.") Sudden uproar and shouts of "Outside."

Mr. Burns: I have had six and a half years of this, and I know how to handle them. (Laughter.) Put her out. Now, stewards, do your job.

At this bidding of the right hon. gentleman, men wearing rosettes moved towards one of the canvas awnings.

Mr. Burns (pointing to a police officer): Now, inspector, will you keep your eye on that (indicating a woman interrupter).

"So good in a popular sense was this Administration," Mr. Burns went on, but suddenly checking himself, exclaimed, "That's it, lads." A feminine disturber had been on the instant ejected, but the occupant of a platform chair who was labouring under some excitement, making an effort to get down to the exit, was checked by the president. "Sit down,

young man," remonstrated Mr. Burns, and the person thus appealed to obeyed the behest. The President of the Local Government Board then vigorously rapped on the chairman's table with an umbrella and so called the meeting to order.

EDINBURGH TELEPHONE WIRES

According to the *Standard*, which announced the news on Friday on its poster, the militant suffragists have initiated a new form of campaign in Edinburgh. "Yesterday," it says, "all the telephone wires connecting the public call offices in the Waverley and Caledonian stations were found to have been cut. In the call boxes was pasted a placard: 'No votes, no peace. War to the end.' The punishment for this offence is a maximum of two years with hard labour."

"In Liverpool the firing of pillar-boxes, it is supposed by suffragists, continues. Another was found on fire yesterday, and a number of letters were destroyed. This is the fourth similar outrage within a month."

The *Globe*, commenting on the above alleged attack on telephone wires by militant Suffragists, adds:—"It is possible that there was no political interest in this. Few people, goaded by 'Number engaged' have not felt a longing to smash a receiver, or otherwise assault some part of the system."



Photo: "Nursing Times."

"THE LADY WITH THE HAMMER"

Mrs. Mansell-Moullin, speaking at a W.S.P.U. drawing-room meeting, held by invitation of Mrs. Edwards at Rosedale, Redland Park, last week, said that Florence Nightingale was generally known as "The Lady with the Lamp," but that she would prefer to speak of her as "The Lady with the Hammer." When Florence Nightingale first went to Skutari, she was refused the key of the store-room, but, not content to sit down and wait, she declared that she must have those stores for her sick men, and with the aid of a hammer she broke open the door. Our illustration is of the plaster cast for the bronze statue by Mr. Arthur G. Walker, to be erected in Waterloo Place for the Florence Nightingale Memorial Fund.

A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN SWEDEN

By Nini Kohnberger

The Suffrage movement in Sweden is making headway, for although the Bill was defeated by the Upper House in May, 1912, the majority was comparatively small, and there seems to be every hope of success when the question is reintroduced three years hence. By the Swedish Constitution no measure may be introduced more than once in the same Parliament, and the next General Election is not until 1914. In the Lower House the Bill had a majority of 74; in the Upper House it was defeated by 86 to 58; but the vote in its favour is so much higher than last year that this result was really a moral victory. A Swedish correspondent points out the significant fact that the voting in the Upper Chamber was entirely on party lines, the Conservatives being solidly against, and the Liberals for the Bill. Some of the Members of this Chamber retire every year, and the new Members are elected by the County Councils, for which women have the vote. They will, therefore, work to return Liberal Members to the Upper House, and as fourteen more votes would have turned the scale, it is practically certain that the Suffrage Bill will pass triumphantly at its next introduction early in 1915.

The year 1912 will always be remembered as a remarkable one in the history of the women's movement in Sweden. For the first time, the King, in his speech from the throne, has announced a Government Bill for Woman Suffrage and eligibility for public office on the same conditions as men. And for the first time a Swedish Government has undertaken to solve this important question.

Work for the political enfranchisement of women in Sweden may be dated from the spring of 1902*, when the present Mayor of Stockholm, Mr. Carl Lindhagen, as a member of the Second Chamber of the Swedish Parliament, moved that Parliament should ask the Government to make an inquiry into woman suffrage.

Three great meetings were held in April, 1902, and two separate committees were appointed. These soon united, and on June 4 of that year the first Woman Suffrage Association was constituted under the name of the Stockholm Woman Suffrage Association. Mr. Lindhagen's Bill was rejected in the First Chamber without even a division. In 1904 and 1905 he again introduced a Woman Suffrage Bill, backed by a number of members. In 1905 it reached for the first time a division in the First Chamber; it was, however, rejected.

Societies Formed

Meantime suffrage societies were being formed all over Sweden; in 1911 there were 171. The politically fateful years of 1906 and 1906 hastened the development of the movement. Petitions were signed; both Chambers carried a proposal for an inquiry; yet the Prime Minister and King Oscar, both of whom received deputations, could promise nothing on behalf of the Government. The only course was to influence Parliament, and the monster petition, begun in 1906, and representing now 142,128 women, was presented. In November the Labour party at their annual congress made woman suffrage part of their revised programme, and included it in their universal suffrage Bill. The Lindhagen group did the same. At the same time, several private Bills were brought in, but these were all rejected by the Special Committee on Suffrage. Only on one was a vote taken in the Second Chamber.

In the autumn of 1907 the Liberals followed the example of the Social Democrats, and made the solution of the question by the Parliament of 1908 part of their revised programme, at the same time allowing women to become members of the Liberal Federation. This progress was due to a petition from the National Woman Suffrage Association. Before the next annual meeting of the Association the president called upon the Prime Minister to question him about the prospects of Woman Suffrage. Mr. Lindman stated openly that he intended to do nothing. The annual meeting then passed a resolution of indignation against the decision of the Government. At the opening of Parliament, a week later, for the first time

in Swedish history the King's speech contained a few words about Woman Suffrage. As was anticipated, Woman Suffrage Bills were introduced by the Liberals, by the Lindhagen group, and the Labour Party in the Second Chamber; and by Mr. Sjöcrone in the First Chamber. The Standing Committee on Constitution advised Parliament to reject all Woman Suffrage Bills. Divisions were taken in both Chambers. In the First Chamber Mr. Sjöcrone's Bill, and in the Second the Bill of the Liberal Party, were defeated.

"Removing Opponents"

On the rejection of the measure it became clear to the leaders of the movement that for the immediate future the principal efforts of the women must be directed towards removing from the Second Chamber as many of the inveterate opponents to the cause as possible. At the following annual meeting of the N.W.S.A. (January, 1909), thirty-five members of the Central Board were received in audience by King Gustaf V. The King expressed his sympathy, but said he could promise nothing. He hoped, however, that the country would in the near future be placed in a position to utilise more directly the beneficial influence of women as citizens, and promised to do what he could to bring about that desirable condition.

In February, 1909, the Government's Franchise Bill embodying Universal Suffrage for men was finally passed, not, however, without a strong protest from the Opposition leaders, on account of the unwarrantable neglect of women.

Mr. Staaff, Mr. Lindhagen, and Mr. Branting definitely declared that if the Bill under discussion was passed they would immediately set to work to bring about the extension of the franchise to women as well.

During the Parliament of 1909 three Women Suffrage Bills were introduced, one in the First Chamber by Mr. Bergström, in favour of equal suffrage, the others in the Second Chamber by Mr. Staaff, leader of the Liberal Party, backed by sixteen Members of Parliament, proposing franchise and eligibility for women on the same conditions as for men; and by Mr. Branting, leader of the Labour Party, backed by thirty-three M.P.'s. Mr. Branting's proposal was made in connection with a Bill for a general revision of the Constitution. Mr. Staaff's Bill was recommended by the Standing Committee on Constitution, and passed without debate in the Second Chamber. In the First Chamber all the Bills were rejected, and a motion for Woman Suffrage without eligibility was obtained, 25 Ayes and 104 Noes. It was now clear to the women that their next object must be to exert their influence on the composition of this Chamber.

During the session of 1910 the question was touched on only in the form of an interpellation by Mr. Lindhagen in the Second Chamber as to the progress of the investigation undertaken by the Government. Mr. Lindman, Prime Minister, replied that it was being conducted with the utmost despatch. In debate, however, Mr. Lindman remarked that the investigation ought to include the influence of Woman Suffrage on marriage and on the birth rate. This called forth sharp protest from both Liberal and Social Democratic speakers.

The Record of 1911

In January, 1911, when the Central Board held its annual meeting, they waited in a body on the Prime Minister in order to find out how matters really stood, and were informed that even should the investigation be ready in time, a Government Bill would not be laid before Parliament in 1911. Thus, because of the regulation as to the election for the Second Chamber, realisation was postponed for at least three years.

During the Session of 1911 Woman Suffrage

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franchise again came under discussion. The attitude of the Standing Constitution Committee, as would be expected from its composition, was less favourable than in 1909. For the first time the First Chamber took a division on both suffrage and eligibility. The opposition of the Conservative Party was, however, still exceedingly strong. In the Second Chamber Mr. Staaff's proposal was accepted; other Bills were rejected.

During the summer and autumn of 1911 the elections to the Second Chamber took place, and the women's work during this campaign was enormous, one single woman addressing thirty-five meetings. Their efforts were crowned with success. As soon as the elections were over, the Conservative Government resigned, and Mr. Staaff, leader of the Liberal Party, formed a new Government. Its first political action was to dissolve the First Chamber. The Conservative majority was greatly diminished (to the number of twenty-two) by the new elections, and many enemies of the cause were not returned.

Devoted Workers

The day the Swedish women get the vote they will remember with thankfulness three women who have given the best of their lives to the cause. Anna Whitlock (the revered President of the N.W.S.A., the first secretary of the Association), Ann Margret Holmgren, née Tersmeden (who with many personal sacrifices formed more than fifty local branches), and our beloved Vice-President, Signe Bergman, whose energy and fine qualities of leadership are so greatly appreciated, and whose name, as that of one of the secretaries of the International Alliance, is well known in other countries. These women, with many others, have prepared their sisters for their future duties. The N.W.S.A. has published leaflets and pamphlets of all kinds, and neither time nor money has been spared. A gift of 50,000 crowns received last year from Mrs. Martina Bergman-Osterberg will allow the N.W.S.A. to organise further courses in sociology all over Sweden.

During recent years the local branches have grouped into county associations, which have facilitated the work during electoral campaigns and for lecturing tours.

The new Municipal Law, which came into force in 1910, and which gave women municipal eligibility (they have possessed the municipal vote since 1862), has done much to train women politically. Sweden has now seventy-six women Town Councillors, and in the five largest towns have the right to elect members of the First Chamber. They have thus already attained political franchise in these centres.

Surely the day cannot be far distant when the energetic and well-organised work of the women of Sweden will be crowned with success!

THE CASE OF THE MISSES WYLIE

In the House of Commons, on Tuesday, July 30, Mr. Ronald M'Neill asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether two sisters, sentenced to six months' imprisonment for window-breaking, were recently discharged from Aylesbury Prison before the expiration of their sentence in consequence of the serious illness of their mother, a lady over ninety years of age; whether, before being released, they were required to sign an undertaking to abstain for life from all illegal conduct; whether this undertaking was a recognisance in legal form entered into before a Court or magistrate competent in that behalf; by what official, acting under what authority, were the prisoners required to sign it; whether such an undertaking has any legal validity to bind the signatories thereof; and whether he will give instructions that no irregular or illegal pledges be extorted from prisoners as the price of liberty in the future?

The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. McKenna): Representations were made to me by the sister of the two prisoners referred to that their immediate release was desirable on the ground of the serious illness of their mother who is over ninety, and she produced a medical certificate as to the state of their mother's health. I accepted these statements, but I should not have felt justified in recommending the exercise of the prerogative of mercy unless I had been satisfied that the prisoners had no intention of repeating their offence. They were so informed, and were asked if they would give a promise not to break the law again. Both prisoners gave the promise, which has a moral if not a legal force. No recognisances were asked for or given. It is neither irregular nor illegal to seek some assurance that a prisoner, if liberated by the exercise of the Royal prerogative, has no intention of repeating the offence for which he has been imprisoned.

Mr. Ronald M'Neill: Apart from the question of legality is the usual course followed to accept from the prisoners, as a price of their receiving the exercise of the Royal prerogative of mercy, a pledge to abstain from a particular line of conduct for the rest of their lives?

Mr. McKenna: It is not the usual practice, because the prisoners usually offer the promise without being asked, but it is not an unknown practice.

Mr. King: Will this be taken as a precedent in the case of the Ulster Unionists?

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* In 1887 a member of the Second Chamber, Mr. S. T. Borg, had introduced a Franchise Bill, but he encountered ridicule in Parliament as well in the press.

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